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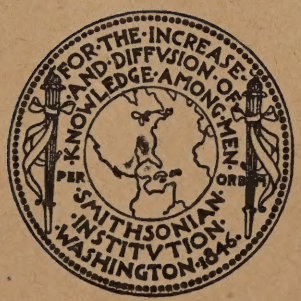
THE TERENA AND THE CADUVEO OF SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL

by

KALERVO OBERG



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KALERVO OBERG

Prepared in Cooperation with the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., May 6, 1948

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil," by Kalervo Oberg, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 9 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE M. FOSTER, *Director.*

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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MAP 1.—South America, showing area of study.

The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

This brief monograph has grown out of an attempt to outline the cultural changes resulting from the contact and interaction of two culturally different Indian tribes and their eventual adjustment to the impact of European civilization. It must be stated at the outset that no continuous record of change can be given. We see the historical process rather in discontinuous flashes as it is revealed to us by writers who observed the life of these two tribes in the past. Even with the documentary evidence on hand the story of any given period of time is incomplete, for the observers did not record all those details of culture which we now consider so essential. Yet, with all these shortcomings, we do see the general outlines of development, the major turning points in the sequence of changes initiated by the outstanding forces of contact and interaction. It must be added, furthermore, that this monograph is considered more in the nature of a preliminary outline of a project which, it is hoped, will be completed by the Brazilian students who have participated in the work so far.

Discussion of the historical literature referring to the Terena and Caduveo is not considered necessary here, for this has been ably done by Alfred Métraux in Volume 1 of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians. In tracing the early history of these two tribes recourse has been made to the ideas and documented evidence set forth in the Handbook. Quotations from early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have been used where they refer directly to cultural characteristics or changes resulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the Mbayá chief's privileges were restricted to the immediate relatives and following of the Guaná woman and could be exercised only by himself and his close relatives, the purely political aspects of the relationship are diminished. The suggestion made here is that the Mbayá-Guaná relationship was essentially a symbiotic interdependence based on kinship. Certain Mbayá were linked to certain Guaná through consanguineal and affinal kinship bonds. In this relationship the Mbayá held a superior position because of the prestige arising from their military power. The Guaná, as a whole, however, maintained their political and economic autonomy.

Among the Mbayá, on the other hand, emphasis on warfare had already led to the development of rank based on war honors and the possession of slaves or war captives. Among the chiefs a distinction was made between those who received this position through birth and those who received it through favor. Between these two chiefly grades and the slaves were the great body of hunters and warriors. Although there is nothing particularly strange in the fact that the warlike Mbayá had slaves, there seems to be, however, a functional relationship between the Mbayá desire to capture women and children and the Mbayá practice of infanticide.

The Mbayá custom of abortion and infanticide has been stressed by many writers. The Caduveo today explain these practices by saying that a mother is forbidden to have sexual intercourse while nursing her child and rather than forego sex and run the risk of losing the affections of her husband a woman avoids having children. The Caduveo go further and explain that they had, in the past, to capture women and children in order to maintain their numbers. One would expect that powerful sanctions would be necessary to enforce compliance with a rule prohibiting sexual intercourse during the nursing period. Beyond saying that it is bad for the parents, the Caduveo make no explicit mention of the consequences resulting from the breaking of this rule. It may be that this rule is sanctioned, at least partly, by the economic circumstances which, among a nomadic hunting people, make numerous small children a burden upon their parents. The distinctions of rank, the possession of war captives as slaves, as well as the symbiotic relationship be-

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe.

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing.

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders.

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory.

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government.

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . .

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In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469).

It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding.

The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return.

The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo.

As we look over the history of the Terena and Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and Mbayá, and later as the separate remnants of these two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in.

In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbayá, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbayá bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose.

On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point

of view of the standards of living, health, education, and social status, the Terena are, today, superior to their former leaders, the Mbayá-Caduveo.

The Mbayá are a good example of a people who developed a specialized culture. Emphasis upon warfare enabled them to achieve great successes through the domination of weaker tribes. Just how the Mbayá acquired these Spartan qualities is, of course, hidden in their pre-Columbian history. Whether their warlike propensities were borrowed from Andean sources or were developed in the incessant tribal conflicts of the Chaco we may never know. But it is clear that when first discovered by the Spaniards they were, along with the other Guaicurú-speaking tribes, the military masters of the Chaco. Once the conditions favorable to warfare and domination were removed, the Mbayá declined rapidly and were left with hunting as the only traditional means of livelihood.

An interesting comparison between the post-Columbian development of the North American Plains tribes and the Mbayá can also be drawn. After the adoption of the horse the North American Plains tribes became buffalo hunters, practically attaching themselves to large herds of buffalo, warfare being practiced against other horse-using tribes as a means of acquiring horses and prestige. In the Chaco there were no comparable herds of wild animals to hunt, but with the adoption of the horse the Mbayá were better able to exploit their weaker neighbors as a source of both wealth and social prestige.

Although efforts were made to take physical measurements of the Caduveo, their suspicion of the measuring instruments could not be overcome. Today, the Caduveo are the result of a mixture with their former Chamacoco slaves and with the Guaná as a result of intermarriage over a long period, so it is doubtful whether any knowledge of the physical type of the original Mbayá could have been obtained in any event. Early writers appear to be unanimous in their description of the Mbayá as a tall, well-built, athletic people (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1]

The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger for her industry and patience in organizing and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1–11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how *Yúrikoyuvakái* taught the people to practice agriculture:

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilome'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *pulá'oi;* the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopáe. Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak-speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days.

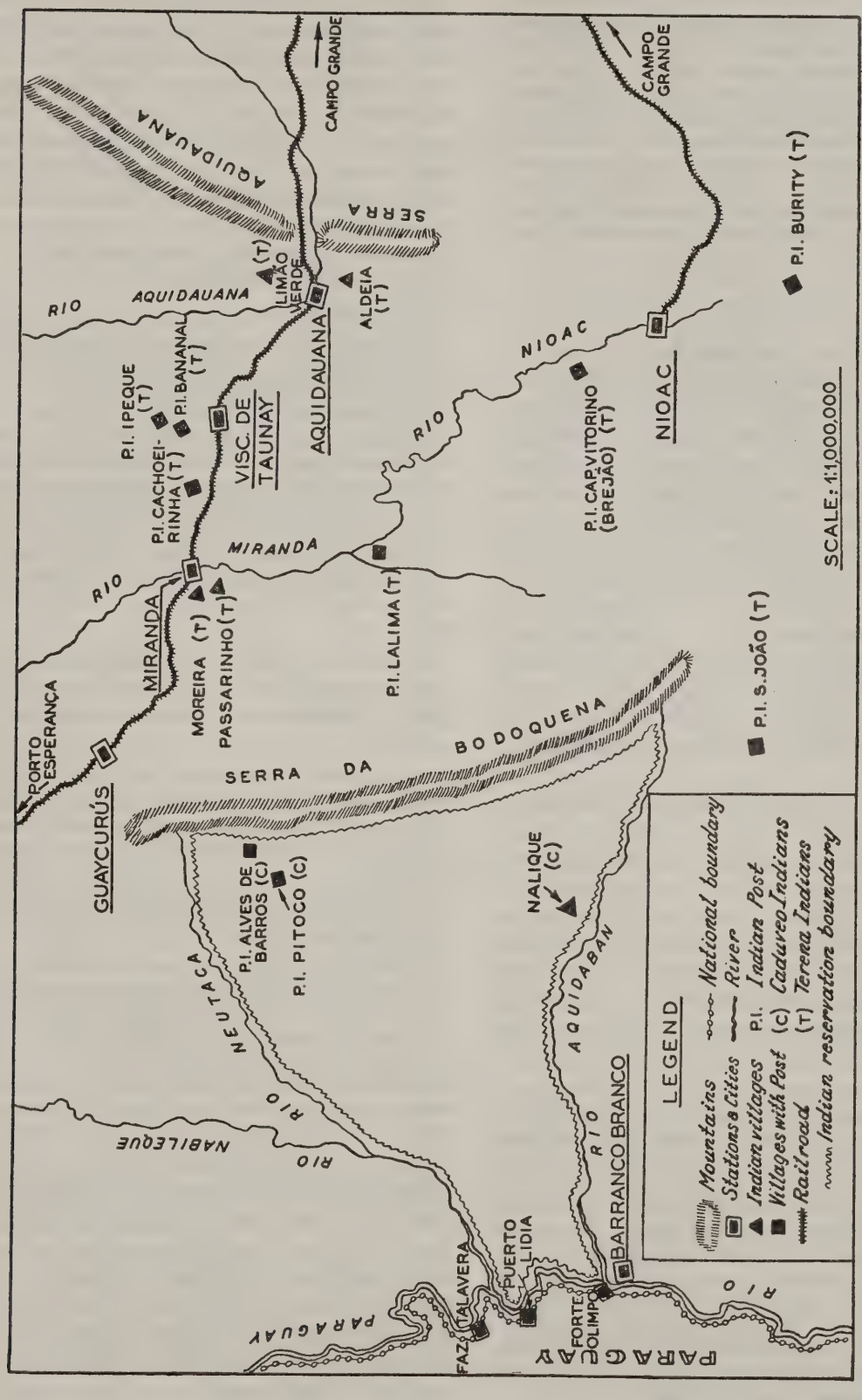
The Terena now describe their economic life in the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco.

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures.

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courliea decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish.

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says:

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds



MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 995; Cachoeirinha, 650; Ipegue, 394; Cap. Vitorina, 185; Burity, 476 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 185 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 3,000. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at 150. (For P. I. Ipeque on map, read P. I. Ipegue.)

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs.

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná:

> The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say:

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*.

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, baskets, and netted bags. In their houses they also kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick, stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Materials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of animals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a *shiripá.* A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by men on war parties. During cold weather everyone wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti.* In warm weather children went about unclothed. Both men and women used pentagon-shaped leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was combed back over the head and fastened with a cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, *nakóti;* bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve.* These decorations were made by stringing dried seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold were used. During ceremonials the Terena used diadems made from red feathers and short skirts made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers could be used only by chiefs and usually signified that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the Terena, Castelnau says:

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paintings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's request to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Terena depended almost entirely on fish, the people moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé.* Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were surrounded by a number of hunters and when the jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harmful to the hunter.

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was employed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paraguay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweetpotatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6 months later, depending upon the type and the conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also prepared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize were also dried and stored in the house to be later crushed in a mortar and used for making porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suatí-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant.

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used.

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires.

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *verí* and large bags, *nimaké*.

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air.

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts.

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds.

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village.

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. Economically, the impact of a foreign people was felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits, customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts affected the life of the Terena more intimately and directly. The missionaries taught the people to wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition, they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association with the Brazilians created changes in the needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments, and amusements became integral parts of Terena economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes was the growing dependence of the Terena on the money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians needed money. The railroad and the cattle ranches offered a ready labor market and we find the Terena in increasing numbers going to work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on the ranches and as section hands on the railroad. The labor market also increased travel and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian world. The Indians became acquainted with the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the strange new world. In addition to the demand for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor and trade became essential elements in Terena economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agriculture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood. On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges, mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay [2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the railroad company. If these workers are near, they visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually all these workers come back to the village when they become ill or too old to work. One complaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a man will leave the village for 6 months, become ill, and then return to the village to be treated. The missionaries claim that the Indians do not take care of themselves when away from the Post, that they spend their money on cane rum instead of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The general pattern consists in a young man spending several years away from the village, then returning, marrying, and settling in the village. After settling down he goes out to seek employment only occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen steadily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult to determine a standard wage at present. Before the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25 to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this money buys no more than before the war. From what has been said it can be seen that wages form an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and to build and repair the buildings belonging to the Post proper. The number of these workers varies; in January 1947 six men were thus employed. They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employment of Indians by the Post has other purposes besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is made to provide work for needy families even when the Post does not actually require their services. Another reason for employing Indians is to train them in building and in such crafts as carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The welfare function of this kind of wage work is revealed by the fact that when a man with a large family is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him in money but arranges credit for him at a store in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from supplies belonging to the Post.

(3) Three men were found to be making their living by carting, that is, transporting goods be-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses.

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day.

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby.

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services.

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay.

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time.

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy.

It must be remembered that the Terena produce the staple food products themselves while living at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is spent primarily for clothing and such foods and household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure:

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr. $
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90, 00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85, 00
1 pair of pants	45, 00
1 pair of shoes	120, 00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50, 00
Total	390, 00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228, 00
Underclothing—8 m. at Cr. $9,00	72, 00
1 pair of sandals	15, 00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50. 00
Total	365. 00

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ⅓ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2.059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described.

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post.

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given.

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work.

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead.

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume.

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese.

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikihí*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15 years ago. He is now living with a young woman out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house with a tile roof with the bonus money he received from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him.

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

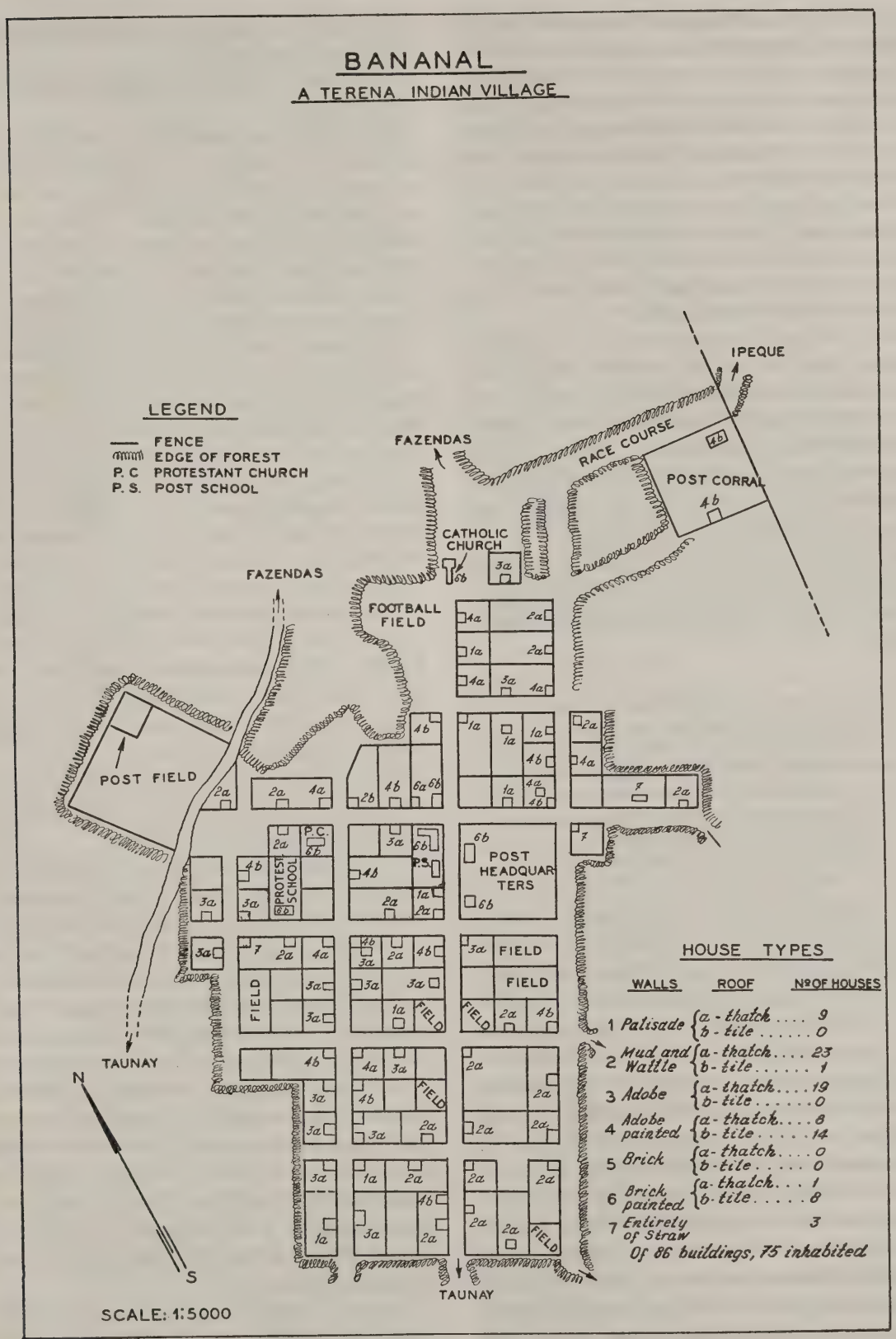
The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing.

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths.

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture.

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied.

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con-



MAP 3.—The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).

(For Ipeque on map, read Ipegue.)

structed. The type of house a Terena will build depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	*Number*
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	23
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immediately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost every house has a low platform bed resting on forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm.

Containers found in the houses are of the following types:

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *verí* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting.

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents.

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots.

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food.

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes.

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal.

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day.

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen.

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days).

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village.

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries.

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men.

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. Old women wear their hair long, parted in the middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about unclothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young children are carried straddling the mother's hip.

Although the houses and cooking arrangements of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but provide excellent shade for humans and animals alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper.

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and article of trade of the Terena it is also the principal crop. About half of the total cultivated land is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety.

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel.

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods.

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay.

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care.

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar."

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts.

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden pole is attached which, when drawn around in a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole.

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar.

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely secondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukui*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use.

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes

are put in and covered with soil and left for a day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there are large quantities and it is feared they will decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into cakes and baked in an oven.

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted at any time of the year. It is used in soups and stews made with dried meat.

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão miudo." This hardy bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be planted at any time of the year but does best when planted at the beginning of the rainy season. A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does not grow well in this region. This variety of bean is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans with rice.

Rice (nakati).—As has been mentioned, rice is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands surrounding Bananal. The planting period will vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month. The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown broadcast.

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice grown by the Terena were not obtained. They use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100 days after planting. Rice is harvested with a sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are removed by beating the sheaf against the ground. Rice is husked as required for household use in the same wooden mortar used for husking maize. Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge.

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic.

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried.

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco.

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described.

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used.

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available.

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter.

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock.

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. After resting, the men saunter around the village visiting their relatives and friends and discussing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any village of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status.

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310).

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black.

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage.

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger.

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword.

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sãnchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life.

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy.

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family.

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property.

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death.

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle.

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother.

In the paternal generation there are two terms for ego's father—the referential term *za'a* and the vocative term *ta'ata*. There are two terms for mother—the referential term *ēno* and the vocative term *mēme*. Father's brother is termed *poiza'a* (literally, other father). Father's sister is designated by the descriptive term *mokechanza'a*. Mother's sister is called *poiēno* (literally other mother) and mother's brother is designated by the descriptive term *ayoēno*. In addition to these terms for the siblings of parents, the Terena appear to have terms corresponding to uncle and aunt, for father's brother and mother's brother can be termed *eungo* and *lulu*, and father's sister and mother's sister can be termed *ongo*. A completely satisfactory explanation of these uncle and aunt terms cannot be made until more is known about the language and culture of the Terena. They may be respect terms for mother's brother and father's sister which are extended to male and female relatives of the parental generation in the manner in which *ta'ata* and *mēme* are extended to all older people in the father's and mother's generation.

In ego's generation, male speaking, there are two specific classificatory terms for brother—*enjovi*, older brother, and *andi*, younger brother. Both these terms are extended to male parallel and cross cousins on both the father's and mother's side. A man calls his sisters and female parallel and cross cousins *mongecha*. These terms are reversed when a woman is speaking. In addition, there is a more general term for brother, *lele*, which can be used to designate men of one's own generation of more distant relationship. The term *cucuná* is used for designating a middle brother.

In the children's generation there are terms for son, *djeá*, and daughter, *inziné*, which are extended, male speaking, to the sons and daughters of brothers. Sisters' children are termed *nevongé*, sex being shown by the addition of *hoyeno* (male) and *seno* (female). When a woman speaks the terms are reversed.

There is just one term, *amori*, for grandchildren. *Hoyeno* and *seno* may be added if necessary.

In the parent's generation both classificatory and descriptive terms can be used for affinal relatives. Father's brother's wife may be called *meme* or *yenolulu* (uncle's wife), and mother's sister's husband may be called *ta'ata* or *imaongo* (aunt's

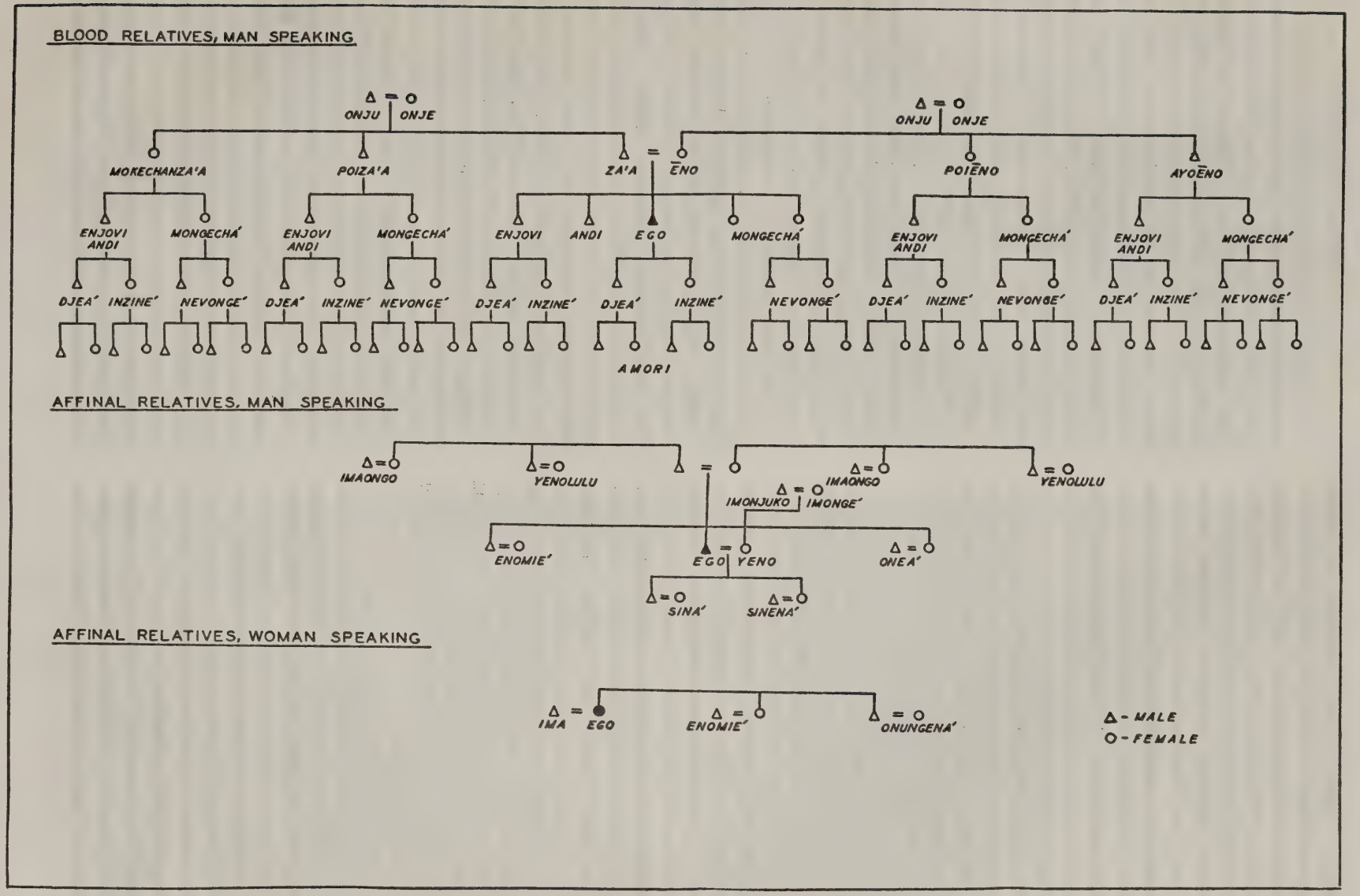


CHART 1.—Terena kinship terms.

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*.

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance.

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin.

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*.

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement.

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted.

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been organized on a basis of new forms of opposition which have largely replaced the old dual organization but which continue the underlying social motives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability led to the disappearance of the distinction between slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the Caduveo did not experience and may account for the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure.

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station.

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager. Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern.

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system.

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people.

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians.

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos."

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena remains the language of the village. Among themselves the Terena, young and old, use their own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained.

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which have led to the integration of the Terena as a group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service.

As the manager is the highest authority and social leader in the village, it follows that status among the Terena is measured in relation to the patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and fences, and provides them with credit if they wish to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force among the Terena is the Protestant mission station. The activities of the missionaries go far beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercussions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths.

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams.

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages.

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times.

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá.

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs.

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials.

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities.

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work.

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and she has spells of nausea and is particular about her food. In general the mother of a young woman informs her about her condition. The Terena have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and *kochuechâti*. The Terena distinguish between a married man who is a father and one who is not, a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were practiced. Whether this was an original Terena custom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not certain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood that the Terena took over this custom from the Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for infanticide is that it permitted a family to have male and female children alternately. If the first child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if a boy was born, he was put to death by being strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family had too many children, or if children were inconvenient, the expectant mother would go to a shaman who would make her drink a beverage prepared from certain roots. If this failed the mother might still have the child strangled. If a male child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys one would be killed. Twins were due, they believed, to the fact that the mother had eaten double fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, gave birth in her own home, attended by her mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena remember, no special knife was necessary to perform this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to give birth the mother squatted on her heels, supporting herself by holding on to some stationary object. The midwife would massage her abdomen and assist in the removal of the child. The midwife then washed the child and gave it to the mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it.

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced.

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only.

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish.

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's father and in the presence of all the members of the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages between their children while the children were still young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *kayenóne*, was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's parents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hevé koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives.

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*.

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand.

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. A church wedding is usually followed by a party in which both relatives and friends participate. After being married the young couple go to live with the bride's parents, although this rule is no longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered at the house of the dead. Young people were not permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it was believed this could bring death to the young. Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If anything were missing the ghost would return to claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman would walk in front of the procession and as he reached the graveyard he would tell the other ghosts about whom they were going to receive. After the body was buried the shaman would be the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often burnt the house in which a deceased adult had lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by changing the doorway of the house. The name of the dead person could not be uttered for several months. Members of the dead person's family would change their names. All this was done in order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from returning to the living relatives. It was believed that if the ghost came back it would take a living relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign of mourning. For a month after death they would wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was supposed to show even more explicit signs of mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In addition, there were regulations which restricted freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair.

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live.

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30.

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living.

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for the existence of the world, the "High God," *Itukoviche*, was not significant. It may even turn out that the belief in a "High God" is due to Christian influence. There appear to be no myths or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these twins the Terena explain their origin and the origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of their culture. The Terena have a number of myths about the origin and exploits of the twin culture heroes. One version expresses the origin of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows:

In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

Yúrikoyuvakái was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.

The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the twins gave them a language and put them into a place where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hivoé*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm.

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *pulú'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopáe*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical charter for the Terena way of life. The importance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life.

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. It is curious to note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, *ivoyóneti*, we have the following story:

It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itáaka*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipoti* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí, Vanónu, and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí, Vanónu,* and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance.

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body.

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him."

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient.

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill.

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use.

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts.

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required.

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During the following night the novice was expected to have a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public performance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the graveyard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, he would perform certain miracles before his house to impress the villagers who were gathered around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him. He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and holding his *ki'pahé*. If people are present he makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who are said to cure people by blessing them in the Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

Shamanism is still an important part of Terena belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An interesting feature of present shamanism and one which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéo'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

Although the Terena have no clear record of missionary activity among the tribe from the date of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, personal histories show that many old Terena were baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

In 1910 a number of English Protestant missionaries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable impression, for the Terena speak about him even today.

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages.

In addition to the regular activities of the American Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place.

During the procession the bearer of the banner walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place.

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances.

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs.

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church.

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo."

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism.

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti.* Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays.

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember,

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children.

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright.

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural.

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena explain that this game was a form of training for war.

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco.

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety.

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were

performed when the occasion demanded and were accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everáni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pau." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation of a European court scene with a king or princess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarú*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*.

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee.

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound.

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

every night so that every sequence can be executed more or less automatically. The two leaders demand strict discipline, reprimand careless dancers, and are careful about the selection of the drummers and flute players. Drinking is forbidden during the practice period.

On the appointed day the dancers meet at dawn in one of the broad streets in the village of Bananal. They form two parallel lines, the dancers standing abreast of one another about 2 feet apart, each line being headed by its dance leader. Facing them are the musicians. When the music starts the leaders guide their respective columns, one turning to the right, the other to the left, but each man in the column must come to the position first held by his leader before he begins making the turn. In this way the two columns form circles, the leaders meeting where the rear men in the columns began, then dancing abreast they come to their original positions. During each of these turns the dancers go through a different sequence. In the first turn one end of the stick rests on the thigh while it is held upright in the hand. This sequence has a characteristic step. In the next the stick is carried like a spear. In the following step the stick is held in the middle and following the leaders each man strikes his stick against that of the man abreast of him—once below, twice above—making a triple clack, clack-clack sound. In one sequence the bow is used instead of the stick. In another the dancers intermingle in small circles, beating their sticks. The dance begins slowly, the tempo increasing as the dance continues. The movements give one the impression of contest between two columns, as if they were going through a mock battle.

After the sequences are completed, the columns separate, each following a drummer and a flute player. They go through the village and dance before each house, receiving coffee or some other beverage from the occupants. The two columns keep dancing until one by one the two leaders lose their followers. The leader who loses all his followers first is the loser. The winning dance leader is then carried on the shoulders of his followers, seated on a stretcher made from the dancing sticks. The chief of the village then provides food and drink for all the dancers.

To an observer the non-Indian characteristics of the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau," are at once apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchú* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances.

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet.

Usually a man invites people to a dance at his house and arranges for the music. About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

ing their children in their arms. The only light is a lantern or two in the house. The young men stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose. They usually win when playing on their own field. The Terena players follow the same rules of play as the Brazilians. They do not play rough and seldom try to retaliate if an opponent injures them in play. They play because they enjoy the game and are even willing to pay their own way to the neighboring towns of Miranda and Taunay to play against Brazilian teams.

Games are played on Saturdays, Sundays, and saints' days against the Taunay team. The Terena are an enthusiastic audience and cheer their team and also any good player whether in their own team or in the opposing team. The games are played alternately in Bananal and in Taunay. Games with Miranda, Aquidauana, Cachoeirinha, and Bodoquena are played on special holidays only, as on September 7 (Independence Day), November 15 (Proclamation of the Republic), and on New Year's Day.

HORSE RACING

Another form of entertainment in which the Terena indulge is horse racing. There are no fixed dates for racing, the matter being left to pairs of horse owners who wish to challenge each other. Horse races are always run in pairs. A man may challenge another and bet a certain amount on his horse. This wager is made before witnesses and if the challenger backs out of his bet he can be made to pay. On a race day, therefore, there may be a number of pairs of races.

The race course, about 100 m. long, is on the outskirts of the village and consists of two parallel paths. A pair of riders go to the starting point and start by common agreement, usually after a number of false starts. Sometimes handicaps are given, as most Indians know the speeds of each other's horses. The public gathers at the finishing point, and bets on the outcome of the races are made by pairs of individuals. There are no special rules or control over betting, which ranges from 25 cents to 5 dollars. Even if only one race is arranged the day before, it usually happens that young men coming on horseback to watch the races will challenge each other on the field so that five or six races may actually be run.

THE CADUVEO

(Pls. 12–24)

THE MBAYÁ IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Caduveo appear to be the only surviving group of the once powerful Mbayá tribe which played such an important role in the history of the Chaco. The Mbayá, along with the Abipon, Mocovi, Pilagá, Toba, Payaguá, and many less-known groups, belonged to the Guaicuruan linguistic family which once occupied the drainage basin of the Paraguay-Paraná Rivers from the present site of Santa Fé in Argentina to where Corumbá is now situated. Today, only a few Caduveo, Pilagá, and Toba remain as representatives of this linguistic family. In their ascendancy the Mbayá were composed of a number of subtribes, each subtribe in turn being subdivided into bands which moved, hunted, and fought under the command of their own chiefs. Although the term "Guaicurú" is now used to designate a linguistic family, the Guaraní applied the term to the Mbayá.

The most complete early account of the Mbayá is by José Sanchez Labrador, a Spanish Jesuit priest who founded the mission of Belén on the Ipané River in 1760 and who lived among them until the Jesuits were expelled from the Chaco in 1767. Additional information about the life of the Mbayá during the 18th century is given by Felix de Azara, the Spanish military commander of the frontier areas in Paraguay in the years 1781–1801, and by Francisco Rodrigues do Prado, the Portuguese commander of Fort Coimbra who wrote about them in 1795. During the 19th century numerous writers visited the Mbayá, among them: Castelnau (1843–47), Page (1853–56), Cominges (1879), Rhode (1883–84), Boggiani (1892–97). The accounts of these writers are, however, more in the nature of travel diaries than ethnographic reports.

In contrast to the Terena, the Caduveo today say little about their past. This reticence may be due to their suspicion of the motives of white visitors or, more likely, due to their lack of knowledge. Many of the Caduveo are the decendants of former slaves captured from such tribes as the Guató, Bororo, Chiquito, and Chamacoco. Among such a heterogeneous population, the cultural tradition, no doubt, has also become a little mixed. It is for this reason that we have to depend largely upon the work of Sanchez Labrador for our information of the past. Although lacking many of the details which we would like to know, we do, from his account, get a general outline of the social organization, economic life, puberty rites, warfare, and shamanism of the Mbayá of which the Caduveo were a part.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

From the account of Sánchez Labrador it appears that some of the Mbayá groups in the middle of the 18th century were located on both sides of the Paraguay River in the neighborhood of the present site of Fuerte Olimpo in Paraguay:

> Today the Eyiguayegui are divided into two groups, one on each side of the Paraguay River. They are masters over a great extent of land and inspire terror in all other nations. Nowadays there are quite a few chiefdoms each having its independent chief. On the western bank of the above-mentioned river are found the Cadiguegodi (Caduveo). This tribe is divided into two large groups of about the same size, the boundary being marked by a slough running inland from the Paraguay River which they call the Cadigugi in their language. The principal chiefs of these groups are Napidigi and Apagamegi. Their sons and some of their relatives are already shown honors due to chiefs, being acknowledged by the people as legitimate masters. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 1, p. 255.]

Discussing tribal territories, Sánchez Labrador indicates that each chiefdom has its own lands:

> For the sake of greater convenience and peace in their lodgings, the Eyiguayegui have such a rigid regulation of land distribution that they may be considered a people who have a political organization. Each chiefdom has lands on the bank of the river on which the people live, besides lands on the other bank. No land can pass to another without its owner's permission. Thus, as the lands are vast, everybody has room without being hindered in hunting and fishing. [Ibid., vol. 1, p. 260.]

Respecting the acquisition of these lands, he adds:

> It is certain that the lands once occupied by the Eyiguayegui were those next to the wild Guaná, which at present are occupied by the Cadiguegodí (Caduveo). As their numbers increased they had to seek new lands on the eastern bank, where they had many disputes with the Christian Indians who lived there in small groups. [Ibid., vol. 1, p. 266.]

The Guaná, according to Sánchez Laborador, appear to have been serfs of the Mbayá. The relationship of these two tribes, however, is not exactly described:

On the western bank they (the Mbayá) intermarried with the pagan Guaná whom they call the Niyolola and who consider them (the Mbayá) at present as their feudal lords. We could not determine that they were conquered by arms, but only that they were united by marriages. Some of the Eyiguayegui chiefs or captains married, according to their rites, with Guaná chieftainesses. Their vassals, after their death, continued to consider the descendants as their feudal lords. Thus they have continued until this day as we shall see below. I know today, two Eyiguayegui chiefs, one of whom was married to a Guaná woman, but left her at the time I arrived, and the other, being the famous Caminigo whose wife has many Echoaladi vassals which form a numerous Guaná group, all of them being serfs. In those days there were few Guaná, but at present they occupy seven settlements, one of which, although not the largest, has more than nine hundred families. The lands of these Guaná are on the western bank of the Paraguay, from one to four leagues from the water. They are situated between parallels 19° and 20° south. [Ibid., vol. 1, p. 267.]

Discussing how the Mbayá treat the Guaná, Sánchez Labrador states:

The ones that suffer the most from the Guaycurú spirit of robbery are the pagan Niyolola. They toil and cultivate fields on difficult terrain. However, a great part of their products is used as food by their vagabond masters. The latter know very well at what time the maize, tobacco, pumpkins, etc., ripen and they then visit the Niyolola frequently and collect either by free will or by force, the produce of their efforts. [Ibid., vol. 1, p. 305.]

In another section Sánchez Labrador seems to imply that the Mbayá did not treat the Guaná too badly:

The Chaná appreciated the Eyiguayegui coming to their settlements. They lack knives, ransoms (rescates), and similar things which their guests generally have. Thus it happens that a Chaná vassal says to his master: "I have no knife, etc., my chief." And the latter, if he has one leaves it with his serf. And so women ask for glass beads . . . and the Mbayá generously divides all his dearest geegaws with her. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 268.]

He also states that only the Mbayá chiefs had Guaná serfs which they acquired by marrying Guaná women:

This is why only the Eyiguayegui chiefs have servants. The common Guaycurú acquired no such rights over these people. This is why the Niyolola call the Guaycurú chiefs and their relatives "our chiefs." The rest of the population and those not related to the chiefs they call "our brothers." [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 267.]

Although the above quotations leave no doubt as to the superior position of the Mbayá, there seem to have been differences in the degree in which the Mbayá exercised their power. The ascendancy, in some cases at least, was attained through intermarriage rather than by force. In some cases the Guaná welcomed their masters and received gifts from them; in other cases the Mbayá took what they wanted by force. Direct subservience appears to have been shown only to the Mbayá chiefs who had made themselves masters through intermarriage with important Guaná women. Differences in treatment may also have varied from one group to another. On the basis of the information supplied by Sánchez Labrador it would appear that the bonds linking the Guaná to the Mbayá were those of kinship rather than military domination of one entire group by another.

The number of slaves among the Mbayá increased rapidly after the adoption of the horse, reaching their maximum figure about the end of the 18th century, at which time they outnumbered their masters in many Mbayá bands. These slaves were not only Indians but Spanish and Portuguese women and children. On the basis of information given by Azara, Herbert Baldus says the following about the duties of the slaves:

About the division of labor among the social strata, Azara writes that the slaves of whom even the poorest Guaicurú have three or four, fetch wood, cook, construct houses, take care of horses and cultivate the soil, while their masters reserve for themselves the rights of hunting, fishing and warfare. [Boggiani, 1945, p. 35.]

Discussing the political and military organization of the Mbayá, Sánchez Labrador stresses the hierarchical divisions in the chiefly class or nobility:

Two classes of chiefs are found among these pagan people. To the first belong those who are chiefs by right of birth; to the second, those who are elected chiefs by favor. All of them are called *Niniotagi* but with this difference, the real captains add to their title "great captains" whereas the others add "little captains." Captains by birth are, in the first place, the chief or head of the settlement who is master of all the others. He is the *niniotagieliodi* or great captain. Secondly, all the descendants and relatives of the chief of both sexes in any line or degree also belong to the chiefly class by blood . . . They are *ninionigilionigi* or lesser captains. The second chiefly class consists of all those who in their cradles received their titles at the birth of a chief's son. They are smaller captains and this is shown by calling them *ninionig-iguaga*. The difference between these two classes

is great. The captains by birth transmit their title to all their offspring, male and female; whereas those who receive their title by favor do not transmit it. The title lasts through the lifetime of the one who receives it and expires with his death.

There exists another difference between the captains of the two classes. Those of the first class (by blood) are heads of their families and soldiers. Therefore their lodgings are separated from the other captains, their relatives . . . The captains by favor, in spite of their titles remain soldiers, subject to the captains by blood and live in the lodgings as other soldiers . . .

In these expeditions (war parties) each captain by birth commands his group. If the head chief goes they all obey his orders. When they penetrate into enemy territory, they march in line in remarkable silence. The line extends according to the number of combatants, the captain of each company being in the rear of his people . . . To stimulate courage before attacking the enemy, they stab themselves with sharp jaguar bones in the arms, sides and calves of their legs. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, pp. 19–21.]

ECONOMIC LIFE

According to Sánchez Labrador the Mbayá were hunters and fishermen. Vegetable foods and wearing apparel they obtained largely from their Guaná serfs. With the adoption of the horse, raiding became an important means of increasing the food supply. Mbayá settlements were temporary camps, their houses, too, being no more than sheds made by spreading bulrush matting over a frame of bamboo poles:

Since the Guaycurú have to gather their food, which, if they remain in one place, becomes scarce, they are forced to move their settlements frequently. That is why they have neither strongly built houses nor grass huts. Their houses are movable, and they mount or dismount them at a place chosen for a stop, or one which they are leaving. [Ibid., vol. 1, p. 268.]

The internal furnishings of the lodges were scanty and simple. A few skin bags, carrying nets, clay pots, and gourd vessels were the principal containers. The Mbayá had no beds, sleeping on the ground over which palm fronds had been spread:

At both ends of the shed or division they level the ground and put some grass or palm fronds. These corners are used as mattresses, the material being very cheap. On these they place deer hides or nowadays cowhides which serve both as a meeting place and a bed. If it is cold they cover themselves with their mantles. During the day they usually roll up the hides or put mats over them in order that they may be used as seats. . . . The Guaycurú did not take up the custom of using hammocks, or any other kind of bed above the ground. [Ibid., vol. 1, p. 272.]

Sánchez Labrador describes the eating habits of the Mbayá as follows:

If their food is something solid such as the flesh of deer, wild pig, manioc roots, or something similar, a cutlass is used as a knife. If they have none, they divide the food and immediately take it up with their hands.

When the food is ready and it is palm flour, they put it in a pan which is called *ginogo*. In these the food is served to those who want to eat it. The table is the floor with no other tablecloth but a hide or the straw of the shed. Instead of a spoon they use a kind of a straight shell about four fingers wide called *lapidi*. With this they eat porridge and as they do not dirty their hands they do not wash them on these occasions. [Ibid., vol. 1, p. 274.]

Sánchez Labrador also describes the Mbayá as being very fond of "chicha," an alcoholic beverage made from wild honey. Drinking, he says, is a ceremony in which many men take part:

When the material is ready and the bodies are prepared by fasting the ceremony begins at sunset and lasts for 24 hours. While the guests drink, a trumpet is played . . . this trumpet being nothing more than a cow's horn or a large gourd . . . just like trumpets which boys make. . . . The way in which the drink is served is as follows: Everyone receives either a bowl or calabash full of "chicha." They all sit in a circle. A woman serves the drinks. They drink as long as they can and talk even more than they drink. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 4.]

Men wore skirts of cotton material decorated with shell disks. During ceremonial occasions and on war parties they added a jaguar-skin jacket over the sleeveless shirt. Women wore a piece of cloth much like a diaper which passed between the legs and was fastened at the waist. Both sexes wore a cotton blanket or mantle during cold weather. Both men and women cut their hair, the form depending upon the social position of the individual. Men wore labrets made from wood or bone. Both men and women wore necklaces made from seeds, shell disks, the teeth of animals, or of feathers. Leg bands of featherwork were worn below the knees by men. With the coming of the Spaniards, silver and even gold were used for decorating belts and ear pendants.

LIFE CYCLE

Mbayá boys, according to Sánchez Labrador, went through initiation rites on reaching puberty:

Lads between 12 and 16 have their own ceremony, which is a rehearsal to become men. The one who wants to leave

boyhood behind paints himself with colors and also with white, puts on all his feathers, pearls, and metal decorations, gets his trumpet and plays and sings all the night and next day until sunset. Before the planet disappears, a *nigienigi* or inhuman medicine man takes a sharp jaguar bone and armed thus, jabs the boy in various parts of the body without hiding those parts which modesty demands to be hidden. The boy bleeds and looks very earnestly at his blood. The *nigienigi* smears his body with it and thus reddened he is placed in the class of men. The whole ceremony ends with drinking at the expense of the initiated one. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 8–9.]

In his view there was no marriage ceremony:

They marry making no ceremony. Perhaps due to the facility with which they can separate from their wives they do not hold any ceremony when they take a wife. If two persons want to marry there is no other ritual than asking her parents for her hand, and the parents and the woman agree, he marries her and takes her to his shed. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 25–26.]

Referring to the status of married women, he adds the following:

Among the Guaycurú there exists no statute or custom which obliges the people to marry within their own nation. One meets many married to captives, either Spanish women or Niyolola . . . What astonishes us in such a barbarous republic is that if a Guaycurú captain marries a slave, captive or servant, the unfortunate woman's status does not change for she continues to be a servant. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 28–29.]

Sánchez Labrador also mentions the well known Mbayá custom of infanticide:

Guaycurú cruelty is exhibited in abortion and infanticide. . . . Spinsters practice this cruelty in a hidden manner, as if they were committing a sin. As soon as they feel the burden of their imprudence they seek to provoke an abortion by whatever means their inhumanity dictates. . . . The married people do not beat about the bush, but openly try to kill their children in their entrails, or they redouble their cruelty by killing the little creatures at birth. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 29–30.]

He states that twins are killed at birth and that families have usually no more than one child. Even today the Caduveo remember this and say that they had to capture children from other tribes in order to keep up their numbers:

Due to these cruelties there are not many children in Guaycurú settlements. Among all I knew but four couples, who, being exceptions, had two children. All the rest had either one or none. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 31.]

Referring to burial customs, Sánchez Labrador mentions the slaying of horses over a dead man's grave:

When they have finished their primary duty of shedding tears, they shroud the corpse. This they do by tying him up in a sitting or squatting position wrapped in a mantle. They dress him up as well as possible, providing the medicine man leaves them anything, if not they search for something else for this purpose. Then they load the corpse on a horse which served him in his life time. They take him to an area removed which is called *napiog*, a burial place. This spot is not much different from the sheds of the living in mats, shape or division, so that each captaincy and even each family knows where its dead are to be buried. With the dead man they bury his weapons, and both men and women take their silver objects and trinkets which they used as ornaments to their graves with them. The graves are not deep and once the corpse is lowered into the grave, they cover it with very little earth without pressing it down, over which they place a small mat and some well made pots, and those who are able, adorned with beads. Near the graves they place small carved wooden figures which they kept in their sheds when alive. If the dead owned horses, they kill a few (not mares) to enable him in the new world to ride away to better plains and hunting grounds. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 46–47.]

SHAMANISM

Sánchez Labrador gives a somewhat fuller account of Mbayá shamanism. He describes the paraphernalia used, discusses the techniques employed and the beliefs which the shamans hold. The main function of the shaman is to cure sickness by calling the soul back to the body or by sucking out evil objects from the body of the sick person. Shamans also used spirits to control the weather and to assist in hunting and warfare or in practicing witchcraft:

A crescent-shaped gourd rattle called *lodani* and a tuft of rhea feathers called *otigadi* are the typical symbols of these notable deceivers. . . .

There is no encampment without a *nigienigi* in each captaincy, and sometimes even two or more. They have an important task and that is why their profession is so widespread. They receive a few little things, which are given to them or they collect in payment for their gestures and efforts in bringing about a cure. There are also medicine women, these are not old but young women who try to make a living and a name in this way.

. . . They do not lack disciples. When a master is satisfied with his pupil's abilities they all gather in his shed, bringing with them their tufts of feathers and their rattles which are their symbols of office. When they see the novice, everyone lifts his *otigadi* and makes a noise with his *lodani*, intoning an introductory chant which is customarily sung at this stage. The novice is very attentive and in each lesson he learns how to live freely and to cheat authoritatively. When this event, which is the eve of the ceremony, is over the graduates retire to rest from their efforts. . . . Next day they gather at the same

place and it is the obligation of the initiate to offer refreshments to his masters. They drink until they lose their senses. During the drinking the initiated one equipped with his *lodani* and *otigadi* . . . continues to sing during the entire night.

They have persuaded the people that they can communicate with the devil, and that this evil spirit tells them the causes of sickness and the cure, and also about the health and death of a patient. And in case the sick person becomes impatient, they pretend that the spirit appears to them and sits beside them giving instruction in familiar conversation.

Practices of the *nigienigi*. First, they cure the sick without any science, as we shall see below. Secondly, at night, or any time which pleases them, they take their *lodani* and sing, lulling other people to sleep, protecting them so that they might go on sleeping without fear of enemies or misfortunes. Thirdly, they sing and shake their calabashes when the sky darkens and a storm threatens. They say that they can foretell the coming of storms and can dissipate them with their tricks. They actually breathe hard in the direction of a cloud as if they were blowing it away. Fourthly, when a child is born and after being washed in cold water, it is taken to a *nigienigi* who sings it a happy future . . . Fifthly, when they go on a journey they lock themselves in the day before and their oracles tell them about the fate of the journey . . . Sixthly, they dream that their *latenigi*, or devil, takes them away, flying over the clouds and reveals to them from this height all the evils, illness, hunger, etc., which can affect people and which they prevent from falling on the Eyiguayegui due to their great gifts . . .

They have the evil custom of making others believe that if anyone enters their mat-house while they are curing or chanting for something else, as punishment . . . the person will lose his life or at least his sight. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 32–35.]

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe a curing ceremony. The sick man is taken to the hut of a shaman which is usually walled in with mats to keep people from seeing what goes on. While the shaman chants over the patient he shakes his rattle with his right hand and holds the tufts of rhea feathers in his left hand. Sometimes the spirit of the shaman goes to the cemetery to request the ghosts of the dead to allow the soul of the patient to return to its body. Sometimes, too, he sucks the painful part of the body extracting a straw, a thorn, a piece of bark, a small fish, or a worm from his mouth (Sánchez Labrador, vol. 2, pp. 35–37).

About their religious beliefs he says the following:

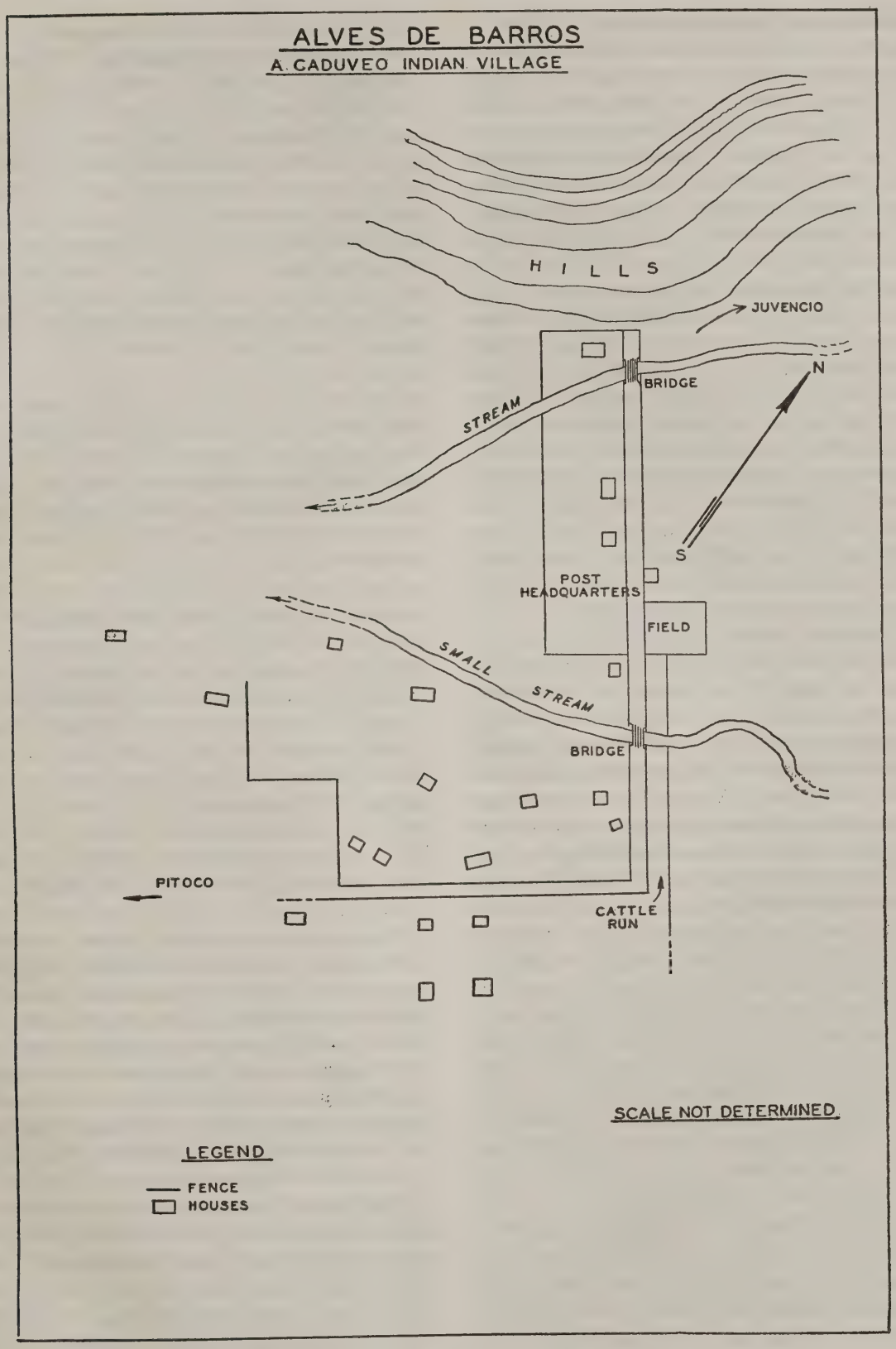
They have elementary notions about the immortality of the soul. From the natural piety which they exhibit towards their dead and in the practices which they perform while dressing the corpses, etc., prove that they know that the soul is immortal and that it will go on to another life. But its lands are not different than those in which it lived while in the village. They do not believe that good deeds are rewarded in heaven, nor that evil ones are eternally punished. The dead enjoy a better status, participating in feasts, amusements and other functions which do not fatigue them. But all this they do near the *napiog* or mats in which they are buried. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 53–54.]

THE CADUVEO TODAY

In contrast to the Terena, the Caduveo have, during the last hundred years, enjoyed a much greater degree of isolation and permanence in settlement. As one would expect, this isolation has contributed to the perpetuation of certain traditional practices in economy, social organization, and religious and ceremonial life. This isolation is primarily due to the location of the territory which the Caduveo selected for their home and which they held against foreign encroachment until the beginning of the present century when their rights of occupation were recognized by the Brazilian Government.

The Caduveo claim that they selected their present location not only because it was rich in game but because it was easy to defend against Indian hunters and Brazilian cattlemen. To the east the steep escarpment of the Serra da Bodoquena was a natural barrier against surprise attacks from the Brazilian and Indian settlements in the Miranda River Basin. To the north and south the marshes surrounding the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers were similarly a hindrance to encroachment by hunting bands and cattle herds.

Just as the location of the reservation afforded protection in the past, it is today proving a barrier to contacts with the outside world. The nearest Caduveo village lies 54 km. south from the Noroeste Railroad and can be reached only on horseback or by oxcart over difficult trails. Distances to parts on the Paraguay River are even greater. The reservation is flanked by large cattle fazendas whose owners, while they recognize Caduveo territory, are suspicious of people moving over their lands to reach the reservation. Another circumstance that contributes to this isolation and independence is the great size of the reservation. The Caduveo have large areas over which to hunt, to herd what little livestock they have, and to shift their settlements.



Map 4.—The village of Alves de Barros.

The continuous occupation by the Caduveo of an isolated territory in southern Mato Grosso for at least one hundred years has led to social isolation. Although there are no permanent mission stations on the reservation, the Caduveo are occasionally visited by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries who perform marriage ceremonies, baptize children, and hold mass or preach sermons. But by no means all children are baptized or all couples married by the church. There are no stores on the reservation nor are traders permitted for fear of importing alcoholic beverages. What exchanges take place are between the Caduveo and the Post manager. The great distances from the towns on the Paraguayan border and the necessity of traveling on the railroad to reach important Brazilian towns has proved a bar against travel to the outside. Even when trips are made they are usually in connection with Post affairs. Although the Caduveo work on the neighboring fazendas they do so while they are young, staying away for a number of years after which they marry and remain on the reservation.

The important contact agent on the reservation is the Indian Service Post of Alves de Barros located at the foot of the Serra da Bodoquena. Around the central Post building, occupied by the manager and his family and the Government school, are scattered the 17 houses of the Caduveo who live at the Post. About 5 km. to the south there is a small but much older Caduveo village called Pitoco. At present, a representative of the Indian Service is located there in charge of a herd of Government-owned cattle. Part of his duties consists in teaching the Indians how to take care of livestock and in assisting them in the cultivation of small gardens. The largest Caduveo village, Nalique, is situated near the southern boundary of the reservation and is occasionally visited by the manager. At present the Caduveo are moving away from Nalique and establishing a new village nearby. It is not uncommon, however, to find temporary settlements of two or three houses scattered over the reservation, determined, no doubt, by the movements of game.

As among the Terena, the manager of the Post maintains order, listens to complaints, and tries minor cases. In these activities he is assisted by the Caduveo chiefs. At Alves de Barros there is a head chief and several minor chiefs. The head chief still enjoys the prerogatives of the traditional form of chieftainship. Neither he nor his family hunt, fish, cultivate gardens or work outside the reservation. The local people provide him with food and repair his house. The manager of the Post pays him for acting as a foreman in performing various tasks around the Post. Although he speaks and acts in a superior manner, he is not above begging for empty tin cans and discarded pieces of clothing. The minor chiefs are descendants of the chiefly class of former days but outside of their conceited manners there is little to distinguish them from the rest of the tribesmen.

The economic functions of the manager of the Post are far more important among the Caduveo than among the Terena. As has already been mentioned, the manager buys whatever hides and skins the Indians have for sale and supplies them in return with clothing, tools, and foodstuffs such as maté tea, sugar, corn meal, and rice. For work on the Post fields, in repairing the buildings, in keeping the trails free from grass and undergrowth, and for transporting Post supplies by ox-cart, the manager pays the Indians 10 cruzeiros a day. Work is so organized that all the family heads get an opportunity to work for the Post a given number of weeks per year. If the Indians require articles not in stock at the Post, the manager arranges credit at a store in Taunay where the Indians are able to satisfy their wants. This device is necessary to prevent the Caduveo from spending their money on "pinga" or cane rum.

The manager also stated that at various times in the past the Government had supplied the Caduveo with cattle but that as soon as an Indian gets hungry he will kill his cow and eat it. The Caduveo also like to give feasts, during which they kill whatever cattle they have. In this way the Caduveo soon dispose of their livestock. At present the manager controls the cattle on the Post and when an animal is butchered the people at Alves de Barros share the meat.

The wife of the manager is the school teacher, and the Caduveo children receive about 4 years of schooling. After 4 years' attendance a few are able to read Portuguese, but none were found who could write even the simplest letter. In addition to her teaching activities, the wife of the manager

attends to the simple medical wants of the Indians, binding injuries and dispensing such medicines as aspirin, quinine, and laxatives. All these services are available only to people who live near Alves de Barros or who come there from more distant parts of the reservation.

The close supervision necessary on the reservation leads naturally to quarrels between the Caduveo and the manager. The average Caduveo has a high estimation of himself, and he has more pride and independence than an average Terena. Instead of performing his duties to the Post for which he will be rewarded, he will spend weeks out hunting, returning only when he is in dire need to beg assistance from the manager. The result of these quarrels leads to a constant state of tension between the manager of the Post and the Indians. Managers seldom remain at this Post more than a few months. Some managers have left in fear of their lives.

ECONOMY

The village of Alves de Barros, situated at the foot of the Serra da Bodoquena, is the most advanced of the three Caduveo villages. Most of the houses are mud and wattle one-room structures with gable roofs thatched with grass or with palm fronds. A few of the houses have palisade walls. Sometimes the wall facing the path is only about 4 feet high or is missing altogether. Sometimes three or four families build their one-room houses end for end, leaving the front open. Low platforms of bamboo, resting on forked stakes along the back wall, serve as beds. These are usually covered with cowhides or deerskins. The cooking is done over small fires built on the floor of the house. A few low benches serve as chairs. Fresh or dried meat is hung from the upright house posts, while ears of maize, manioc, and squashes are kept in baskets or netted bags suspended from the rafters. In most houses water is kept in a large globular pot resting on a wooden tripod. Cooking is usually done in iron pots although clay pots are still widely used.

Caduveo villages are not laid out in the organized pattern of Terena villages. The houses occupied by the Caduveo at Alves de Barros are scattered around the Post headquarters joined by narrow paths. The small cultivated plots usually surround the houses. The village of Pitoco consists of a few houses located around a small lake or pond with adjoining cultivated areas. As Caduveo villages are located near permanent streams, water is always available and the surrounding scrub forest provides a ready supply of firewood and building material.

Like the Terena, the Caduveo today dress in European type of clothing, consisting of a pair of trousers and a shirt. The men usually wear shoes and a straw hat when they are riding or hunting. Every man who can possibly afford it carries a six-shooter in his belt. The hair is cut in the modern European manner. Women buy cheap cotton print from which they make dresses and underclothing. Women are fond of necklaces made from colored glass beads and old silver coins. Even tin cans are turned into narrow tubes strung on string alternating with beads or coins. Rings and bracelets are made from silver obtained by melting down silver coins. Women sometimes paint designs on their faces, using soot mixed with oil, the designs being related to those which the Caduveo use in decorating pottery and leather work. The hair is cut across the forehead and tied at the nape with a cord. A few individuals were seen with filed upper incisors.

The major portion of their food supply the Caduveo acquire by hunting and fishing. They use old Mauser rifles which they obtain from the Paraguayans by exchanging for them hides and skins. The Paraguayans in turn obtained their rifles from the Bolivians during the Chaco war. A few old .44-caliber Winchester carbines are also to be seen. The Caduveo buy black gunpowder and lead and load their own cartridges. To save powder and to prevent the old guns from blowing to pieces the cartridges are loaded very lightly. The guns are never cleaned, so in order to kill an animal the hunter has to be within a hundred feet of his target. Muzzle loaders, which are still widely used in Brazil, were not seen among the Caduveo. The game hunted are various kinds of deer, tapir, wild pigs, capybaras, monkeys, jaguars, the rhea, and other land and water birds. Various kinds of fish are caught with hook and line and by poisoning pools with "timbó." Meat is boiled, and if large quantities are obtained some of the meat is dried for future use. The Caduveo hunt not only for food but for hides which they sell to dealers at

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the Paraguayan ports or, at present, to the manager of the Post.

Agriculture is a decidedly secondary source of food. Around their houses the men and women cultivate manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, squashes, bananas, mangoes, and a little rice and sugarcane. For working in the fields belonging to the Post they sometimes receive a part of the produce. The lands around Alves de Barros consist of rich black soil, well watered and well drained, and produce much better crops than the lands occupied by the Terena. In spite of this the Caduveo have not yet taken to agriculture as a principal occupation. The land is first cleared of trees and undergrowth, which, after it has dried, is burnt, the ashes being scattered over the field. The ground is then hoed, after which the seeds are planted. The planting periods are the same as among the Terena.

In addition to the sale of hides and skins, pots and baskets, money income is derived from day labor for the Post at 10 cruzeiros per day. Usually this does not amount to more than 300 to 500 cruzeiros (U. S. $15 to $25) per year. Wage work on the fazendas is on a different basis from that among the Terena. As we have seen, many of the Terena spend a few months each year working outside the reservation. The Caduveo, on the other hand, remain away at work for several years and then return to live on the reservation, often never returning to work on fazendas. Thus it can be said that outside wages do not contribute directly to the money income of the Caduveo villages, as the workers when away spend most, if not all, of the money they earn.

The Caduveo, today, own a few horses and some of them own a small number of cattle. Although the reservation is ideally suited for cattle keeping the Caduveo have not become stockkeepers. Early records state that the Caduveo, along with the other Guaicurú tribes, once possessed great numbers of horses. Today, however, the Caduveo have only one or two horses per family, just enough for hunting and traveling. Some families do not have horses but use heifers and bullocks for riding, the animal being guided by reins fastened to a nose ring. The saddle is made of two rolls of banana fiber fastened together so as to fall on each side of the animal's spine. Stirrups are not used with this type of saddle.

In summary we can say that Caduveo economy is based on hunting, fishing, and rudimentary agriculture. Money income is derived from the sale of hides and skins, pottery, basketry, and from irregular wage work, this being spent on cloth, ammunition, maté tea, and cane rum. In contrast to the Terena, the Caduveo are poor. Their houses are not well made, their food supply, which depends primarily on the fortunes of hunting, ranges from scarcity to plenty. Their cash income is definitely less than that of the Terena. All this in spite of the fact that they live in an area richer in resources than that occupied by the Terena.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents both maternal and paternal and to their spouses. These two terms are *inelucudi* (grandfather) and *iamit* (grandmother).

In the parental generation the referential term *eiodi* (father) is extended to father's brothers, and the referential term *eiodo* (mother) is extended to mother's sisters. In addition, there are the vocative terms *latada* (father) and *cadede* (mother), which can also be used to designate older men and women. Father's sister is termed *yeachudo*, and mother's brother is termed *inechudi*.

In ego's generation, man speaking, older brother is termed *eopi* and younger brother *ilochochi*, while sisters are designated by one term, *iniualo*. In addition, there is a general term for brothers, *inuchau*. All these terms are extended to parallel and cross cousins, both on the father's and mother's side. A woman designates her brothers and male parallel and cross cousins by one term *inagiurat*, but she distinguishes older sister, *iludralut*, from younger sister, *ilochoche*. These terms are extended to her female parallel and cross cousins. She may also use the term *inuchua* to designate all her sisters and female parallel and cross cousins.

A man designates his own and his brother's children by the terms *yonegi* (son) and *yonat* (daughter). Sister's children are termed *iledi* (nephew) and *inualo* (niece). When a woman speaks she terms her sister's children *yonegi* and *yonat* and her brother's children *iledi* and *inualo*.

Grandchildren are distinguished by sex, a

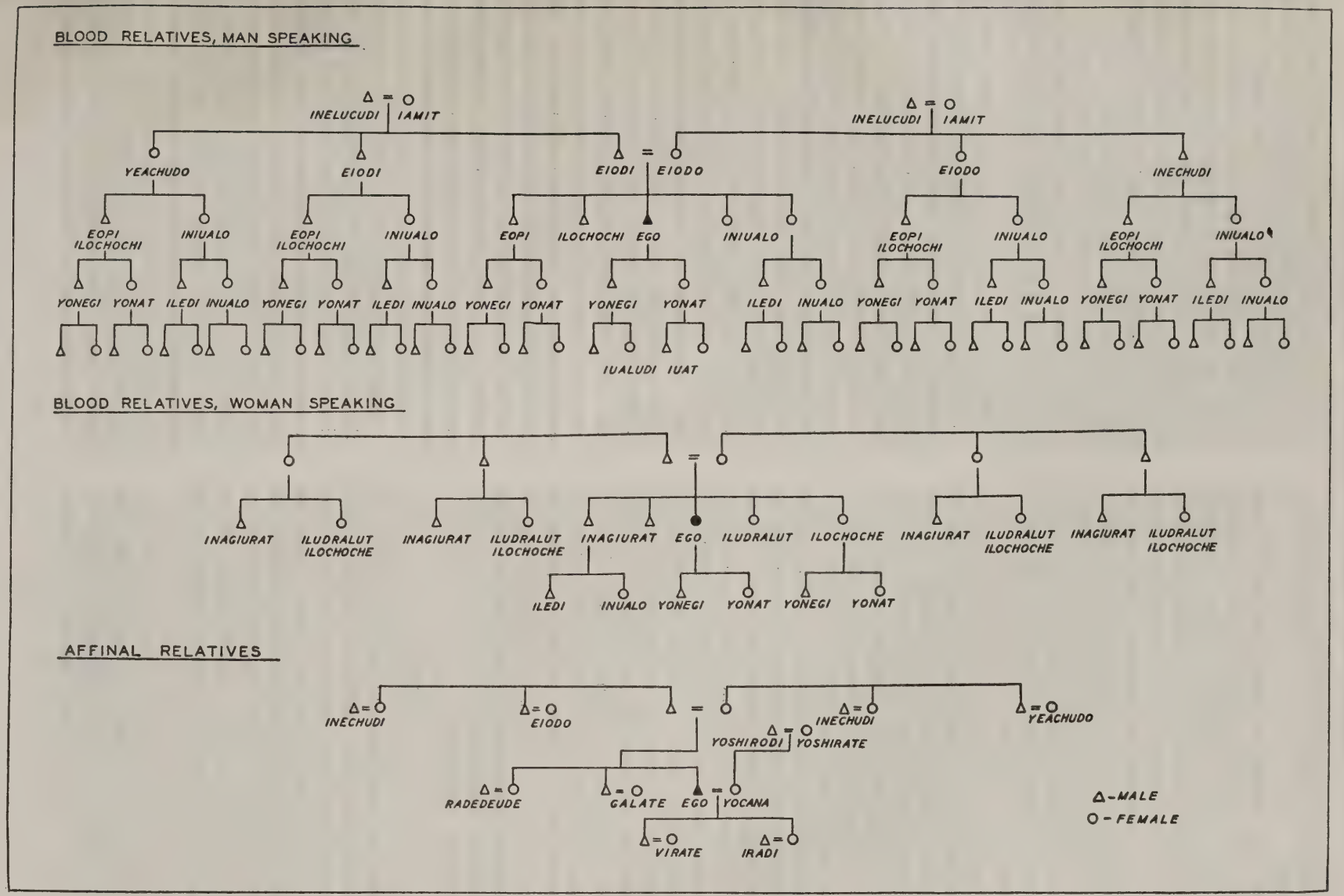

CHART 2.—Caduveo kinship terms.

grandson being termed *iualudi* and granddaughter being *iuat*.

Terms for affinal relatives are as follows: Father's brother's wife is called *eiodo* (mother), and mother's sister's husband *inechudi*. Father's sister's husband is termed *inechudi* and mother's brother's wife *yeachudo*. The term for wife is *yocana* and the term for husband is *yodava*. A father-in-law is called *yoshirodi*, and a mother-in-law is called *yoshirate*. The term for brother-in-law is *radedeude* and the term for sister-in-law is *galate*. A son-in-law is called *iradi* and a daughter-in-law is *virate*.

An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins, or anyone whom he or she calls sister or brother. Marriage was generally monogamous, but chiefs sometimes had several wives in the past. Residence is matrilocal. Even today men reside permanently in the houses of their wives' parents. Both the father-in-law and the mother-in-law avoidance are still in force. When questioned about these avoidances, one informant said, "I don't have a very happy life in my wife's home. She and her parents own everything and run the house to suit themselves." Questioned as to how he managed to work with his father-in-law when he was supposed to avoid him, he explained that "he looked the other way" when he spoke to his father-in-law. This informant also volunteered the comment that matrilocal residence and father-in-law and mother-in-law avoidances were very unpleasant customs. He was undoubtedly comparing his tribal restrictions to the greater freedom permitted a husband among his Brazilian neighbors.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth, *éniti*, takes place in the house and in the presence of a midwife. After the umbilical cord dries and falls off the mother keeps it, for if some animal were to eat it the child would turn into that animal. The placenta is buried beneath the mother's bed. The child takes the name of one of its grandparents. The father of a new-born child gives a dance and feast according to his means.

Sánchez Labrador and other writers have commented on the Mbayá practice of infanticide. The Caduveo admit that they practiced infanticide in the past and claim that even today expectant mothers bring about abortion or kill the child at birth. When questioned about this custom the Caduveo explained that as a woman was prohibited from having sexual intercourse while nursing a child she would often kill the child rather than have her husband desert her. Another reason which they give is that as the Caduveo were forced to move rapidly from place to place, especially after they adopted the horse, infants were a burden and were not sought by married couples. To maintain their numerical strength they captured boys and girls who were able to take care of themselves.

When a girl reaches the age of puberty she goes through a puberty ceremony, *niga-anáke*. She paints her face white and over the white paints characteristic Caduveo designs. She paints her body red with "urucú." She then sits on a mat in the center of the house with her head down so as not to look directly at people. She uses a special scratching stick, for if she uses her nails for scratching she will become covered with sores. The women of the village come to visit her and sing and dance around her. Men also come, but they do not go near her nor do they speak to her. The father of the girl then brings a cow, which is cut to pieces before the house. The cow is not killed, but dies in the process of being cut up. After the meat is cooked and eaten the people sing and dance. It appears that a puberty ceremony is not given when boys reach puberty. After puberty the parents are careful to see that a girl does not have sexual intercourse before marriage. Before the age of puberty boys are not allowed to drink alcohol or maté tea, or to smoke, or to have sexual intercourse; after puberty, however, they do as they please.

Marriage, *wado*, is arranged by the parents of the boy and girl, the boy's parents taking the initiative. If the parents of a boy wish him to marry a certain girl the boy cannot refuse. Gifts are then exchanged by the parents. On the day set for the wedding, the groom, his parents, and friends go to the bride's home. On reaching the bride's house the group remains outside while a messenger enters and explains that the groom has arrived. The group then enters the house and the bride's father tells the groom to sit on the bride's bed. The bride's father then offers food to the groom which he refuses. After some time

the group departs, leaving the groom alone. The father then fetches his daughter, who has been secluded, and tells her to sit by her husband. On the following day the bride's father gives a feast and dance.

Today the dead are buried, *unaligenti*, in the old Caduveo cemetery near Pitoco. The body is wrapped in a mat or blanket and buried in a shallow oval grave. The personal belongings of the dead are left on the grave but horses are no longer shot and left near the grave. The close relatives of the dead then cut their hair, change their names, and give a feast. All those who attend are also supposed to cut their hair. If it is not possible to bury the body in the cemetery right after death, the body can be interred temporarily. When time permits, the bones are dug up and taken to the proper burial place. "Five days after burial the ghost rises and lives near the grave. In time the ghost disappears and at last is like the wind."

The Caduveo at Alves de Barros claim there are two prostitutes in the village. These girls belong to poor families and it is said support their families in this way. They explain that prostitution did not exist in the past. They also say that berdaches existed in the old days. These berdaches were men who dressed and painted themselves like women and lived with men. They claim that homosexuality is common even today.

MYTHS

The Caduveo have an origin myth which explains how Indians and other people first appeared:

Onoé-noe is like a god, he is a Caduveo Indian, he pulled all the Indians out of a hole in the ground. *Onoé-noe* lived in the bushes by a stream. He placed traps to catch fish in the pools along the stream. He was very lucky and always caught fish. One day, *Onoé-noe* went to his fish trap and noticed that someone had stolen his fish. This happened for many days. *Onoé-noe* then asked the *étahaha* (a large heron-like marsh bird) to watch the trap, but *étahaha* went to sleep. *Onoé-noe* was angry and as punishment permitted *étahaha* to eat only lizards. That is why this bird eats lizards today. Next *Onoé-noe* ordered the *etoli-toli* bird to watch the trap. He too fell asleep and as punishment the *etoli-toli* bird has had to live thereafter on locusts. Finally *Onoé-noe* ordered the *opokonó* bird to fly over his trap all night. At dawn *opokonó* saw some people taking fish out of the trap. *Opokonó* then began to cry out and went to *Onoé-noe* to tell him what he had seen. *Onoé-noe* gave *opokonó* a snail to eat. That is why *opokonó* keeps crying and eating snails today.

Then *Onoé-noe* got up, put on his sandals and with his two dogs went to the trap. The dogs took up the trail of the thieves and followed the tracks to a hole in the ground. *Onoé-noe* took away the leaves covering the hole and found that it was full of people. He then pulled out all the people. He pulled out the Brazilians, Paraguayans, and all other nations. To the Terena he gave land and told them how to grow crops. He almost forgot the Caduveo and pulled them out last and told them to wait while he was giving the other people land. But the Caduveo ran off to hunt. *Onoé-noe* was angry and said, "Now you must always wander about looking for animals to hunt." That is why the Caduveo are still poor hunters.

Onoé-noe then evacuated and from his excrement came the Chamacoco, "That is why the Chamacoco are such stupid and dirty people."

Another version has it that *Onoé-noe* first took all the Indians and a kitten from the hole in the ground. Later there was a great flood which was survived by some of the Indians and the kitten. The kitten then turned into a Brazilian and that is why the Brazilians have green eyes.

The *honidi* myth tells of a very large snake which lives on a hill. Whenever it meets hunters it pursues and devours them. First he makes a strong wind which does not permit the hunter to travel, then he comes near and eats the hunter and his horse. Shamans are able to see *honidi.*

Nakotákra looks like a bull and lives in the water. When women come to bathe he has sexual intercourse with them at the bottom of the river or lake. A woman who has had sexual intercourse with *nakotákra* must get the help of a shaman or she will die.

Emariko-koné looks like a donkey and lives in the water. He pursues women but is different from *nakotákra* in that he looks only for pretty girls.

Diguyélo is a large bird which looks like the rhea. It lives in the clouds and when it opens its wings the rain falls. When its wings are hurt there is no rain.

RELIGION

Although the Caduveo have been under missionary influence for several centuries, it cannot be said that they are today all Christians. Many have not been baptized, nor have ever attended church services. In actual life pagan shamans and Christianized shamans are resorted to for help. The story of two Caduveo medicine men will perhaps illustrate this mixture of pagan and Christian belief and practice.

Morcego, who lives on a farm near the reservation, is said to be able to cure people of all diseases except chest ailments and diseases of the eyes, both of which are the most common ailments among the Caduveo. He uses the rattle, *lotani*, and the rhea feather baton, *otihadi*. During the night he chants over the sick person calling on the spirits of dead shamans to assist him. He also sucks the painful part of the body extracting bits of bone, thorn, or insects. They say that once when a hunter was lost Morcego changed himself into a jaguar and protected the lost man against wild animals.

Polinari claims that he is a Christian, having been baptized by a priest when he was 12 years of age. He says that once when he was ill, he received the power to cure from Saint John and Saint Anthony who appeared to him in a vision. He cures people with holy water, prayers to the saints, medicines made from herbs, and blessings. When he wants to cure snake bite he prays to Saint Marcos. When the patient has pains in his body he prays to Saint Anthony. But Saint John is his greatest helper and always appears to him in a dream, indicating the right herb or root to use. The roots and herbs are those used by the old-time shamans.

Caduveo shamans differ in some respects from their Terena counterparts. A Caduveo shaman, for instance, may not cure his own son but must take him to another shaman. A shaman cannot go near a cemetery for fear of becoming ill. If a shaman sees a corpse he will fall into a trance. Like Terena shamans, Caduveo shamans consult the ghosts of dead shamans and other supernatural beings. In the past they assisted war parties and took part in hunts besides curing sickness and practicing witchcraft.

The shamans also make small wooden figures carved in the image of people that look like dolls. These wooden figures, *yoe-bebak*, are made from the wood of the "palo santo" and are said to possess magical powers. They are given to children to play with and are put in their beds at night in the belief that they will protect children against evil spirits and make them grow up healthy and strong.

DANCES AND GAMES

The Caduveo appear to have at least two important dances: the *nobaké-nuano*, which is danced by men, and the *etakúlige*, in which both men and women take part. They bear some resemblance to the "bate-pau" danced by the Terena but are enough different so that a common origin may not be assumed.

In preparing to dance these dances, both men and women paint some of the characteristic Caduveo designs on their faces and bodies, using red, black, and white colors. Rhea feather skirts are used, but if these are not available, shredded banana bark or even colored cloth can be substituted. Tiaras made from red and blue macaw feathers are worn by the men. The music is provided by a flute player and two drummers. Each man has a gourd rattle which he shakes in time with the drummers. There is no singing although some of the old women on the sidelines periodically chant in time with the music. The men prefer to drink "pinga," or cane rum, during and after the dance.

In beginning the *nobaké-nuano* the men form a column two abreast, each row being led by an expert dancer. At a signal from the leaders the dancers move forward in a wide circle. As they move forward each pair goes through a given cycle of steps and movements in each circle. First each pair holds hands swaying backward and forward. In the next circle the pairs turn first to the outside and then toward each other shaking their rattles. After all evolutions of this kind are completed the two rows separate, one going in a circle to the left, the other to the right until they meet, and come down the center of the field to separate again at the outer edge. They change step in each of the outward circles. When all the evolutions are completed there is a rest period during which drinks are passed around and considerable horseplay takes place. The dancing continues until all the "pinga" is exhausted. On special occasions a bullock is killed and after the dance everyone eats meat broiled over a fire. The meat is cut into pieces and skewered on a long stick. This method of broiling meat is also the Brazilian way of preparing a "churrasco."

In dancing the *etakúlige* the men form a large circle and the women form a smaller circle within the men's circle. At a given signal the circles begin to move in opposite directions. The movements of the dancers imitate the picking of maize heads off the stalks. This dance seems to be rather strange to be danced by the Caduveo since they are primarily hunters. Although no evidence about

its origin could be found, it might well be of Guaná origin.

The Caduveo also have a number of games like the *wúniko*, *getráche*, *hatadikané*, *dachótra*, *nitikáki*, *ekádilibégi*, *nativajé*, and *jóbebak*.

The wúniko.—On a day set by the chief, a group of masked men dressed in dance regalia and accompanied by an unmasked leader and a number of women who sing and dance, go from house to house in the village. The *wúnikos*, or masked performers, then perform various humorous antics before each house. If they succeed in making the people laugh the house owner will place a gift of food, drink, clothing, or some trinket on the ground in front of his house. The leader receives the gift and thanks the donor. The *wúnikos*, who do not speak and are supposed to be unrecognizable, then share the gift or eat the food placed on the ground. If drink is placed in a cup on the ground each *wúniko* takes a sip without touching the cup with his hands. This is a sign that they want more. When they are satisfied they will pick up the cup in their hands and drink the contents, usually "pinga." This goes on until all the houses are visited.

The getráche.—This game is really a form of tug-of-war. A group of youths grasp one end of a rope and a group of women the other end. But behind the women are several strong men. When the women begin to lose ground the men pull from behind them. It would appear that the purpose of this game is to show up and shame the youths for not being able to pull as well as the women.

The hatadikané.—This game consists of a number of boxing matches organized by someone in the village who also provides a "churrasco," or barbecue, for the contestants. Both men and women participate, the women being matched against each other. Two opponents get up and exchange fisticuffs until one falls to the ground. The winner is applauded by the bystanders. The loser, on the other hand, has to pay a fine to the giver of the "churrasco." A winner can continue boxing as long as he can find opponents. Cuts and bruises often result from these fights with bare fists.

The dachótra.—In this game or contest a number of men and women form a circle, holding hands in a way so that men and women alternate in the circle. They then move around in a circle as fast as possible. Those who fall down are out of the game. The winner is the one who remains on his feet the longest.

The nitikáki.—In this game a good runner, armed with a whip, takes up a position in the center of the field. A line of men then approaches him. The lone runner then calls out, "What do you want?" One of the men in the line shouts back, "I want to commit sodomy with you." The man with the whip then attacks the group driving them around the field. As he hits a man this man falls out of the game. The last one hit is the winner.

The ekádilibégi.—A group of men form a line, single file, and move forward with their legs far apart. A man with a whip pursues them trying to strike the man at the end of the line. In order to avoid being hit the last man crawls between the legs of the men in front of him to take his place at the head of the line. This continues until the players tire.

The nativajé.—This is the name of a vulturelike bird that utters a shrill cry. The game consists of two groups of men approaching from opposite sides of the field, uttering the cry of the bird. They fight until one group is driven off the field. This is a fierce contest in which fists are used and injuries occur. After the contest both groups eat and drink together.

The jóbebak.—A group of men go from house to house with small, carved, wooden figures on a plate. They place the plate on some object belonging to each member of the family, who then gives a gift to the figure carrier. The wooden figures are believed to have magical power to ward off evil.

CADUVEO POTTERY

Although the Caduveo have lost many of the characteristic features of their former culture, they continue to make decorated pottery of a high artistic quality. It is generally believed that the decorative designs show Andean and even European influences. It is also thought that the Caduveo obtained these decorative motifs from the Guaná with whom, as we have seen, they were long associated (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 289–291). Answers to these historical questions still remain to be worked out in detail through a comparative study of South American pottery types as additional evidence is made available by further ethnographic and archeological field work. The

best study of Caduveo art to date was made by Guido Boggiani, an Italian artist and ethnologist who visited the Caduveo between the years 1892 and 1897.

POTTERY FORMS

Today the Caduveo make an assortment of jugs of various shapes, jars, pitchers, cups, and bowls. The jugs, *naharáti*, are predominantly globular in shape and range from 8 to 12 inches in height. They can be classified into three groups on the basis of their shape and the form and the number of their spouts. The simplest kind of jug is the single, narrow-necked form with either a straight or bulbous neck, as shown in plate 20, *a*, *b*. A second type of jug is the double-spouted form with a loop handle on top (pl. 15, *a*, *b*). The spouts are usually straight. The handle is used both for carrying the jug and for suspending it from a beam or rafter. The most elaborate form is the bird-shaped jug (pl. 16, *a*, *c*). Like the others it is generally globular in shape, always with a bird's head and looped handle, often with a bird's tail. In some cases the tail serves as a spout. Some potmakers also make clay stoppers for the spouts. The bottoms of the jugs are flat, but the widths of the bottoms vary considerably. All jugs are used for transporting and storing water.

The Caduveo have no native word for jars, which they make in many sizes and shapes. All jars are characterized by large openings. The largest jars, which may hold as much as 5 gallons, are used for storing water, and they usually rest on a wooden tripod in one corner of the house. Generally speaking, the larger the jar the flatter it is in shape. Good samples of the smaller, elongated jars are shown in plate 18, *a*, *b*. The necks are usually cylindrical, but rimmed necks occur (pl. 16, *d*). Some of the flatter, broad-necked jars are used for cooking, many being fitted with lugs on the shoulders.

The pitchers, *tadotokó*, which the Caduveo now make, show unmistakable European influence in their shape and size, as illustrated in plate 15, *c*, *d*. All these modern pitchers have projecting lips. They vary from 6 to 12 inches in height, some being shorter and broader in shape than others. Although the handles are usually round, oval-shaped handles also occur. Older types of pitchers which appeared to be no more than jars with handles do not have projecting lips. Pitchers are used for transporting and storing water.

The cups which the Caduveo make today are a recent development. The cups, samples of which are shown in plate 17, *a*, *b*, are larger than a common coffee cup, some of them being pint-sized. The Caduveo themselves do not appear to use these cups but sell them to curio hunters.

The shallow bowls, *notrolé*, shown in plate 17, *c–e*, vary from 3 to 12 inches in diameter. Some are elliptical rather than circular. Some of the larger ones, which are used for holding manioc meal, are very shallow and could be classed as trays. In fact many of the smaller ones are today sold for use as ash trays, some being bird-shaped in form with a bird's head and tail projecting from the edge of the tray. The Caduveo state that in the past they made very large trays about 1 yard in diameter which were used for toasting manioc meal. Today iron pans are used for this purpose.

Besides vessels, the Caduveo today make small figures of horses, cattle, and dogs, ranging from 2 to 4 inches in length. These are given to children to play with or are sold to visitors. Generally they are very crude in form and undecorated.

MANUFACTURE

The clay, *ikonopá*, used for making pottery is obtained from the banks of certain nearby streams. The best clay is bluish gray and fine in texture. For tempering, the women use powdered brick or powdered potsherds. Boggiani (1945) states that they also used baked and powdered coconut shell. This form of temper does not appear to be used today. Once the temper is added the woman places the mixture in a large can, adds water, and kneads it until it is uniform in thickness, removing all small stones and lumps that may appear. When the paste is ready it is called *nilofúgo*.

In making a pot a woman will sit on the floor of her house or under a shady tree. Directly in front of her she has a smooth piece of board, on one side of her a can of water, and on the other a can of prepared paste. For smoothing the surface she has either a shell or a tablespoon. First she makes a flat circular disk which she places on the board to form the bottom of the pot. She then prepares a coil by rolling out a piece of clay, first between her hands and finally on the board to

insure uniform thickness. The coil is then placed on the outer edge of the base and firmly kneaded together. A second coil is added, joined to the end of the preceding one and firmly kneaded together with thumb and forefinger. The woman then wets her fingers and smooths the inner and outer surface. This process is continued until the pot is completed. The final smoothing of the inner and outer surfaces is done first by using the fingers or palm of the hand, the hand or fingers being repeatedly dipped in water, then by using the back of a spoon or shell. In smoothing the surface, the other hand is always held opposite the processing hand. The sole of the foot is also used to support the pot.

When the vessel is completed but still soft, the woman outlines the designs on the surface with a cord, *nohoni*. The cord, which is made from cotton and is about one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter, is held in the left hand with about 2 inches hanging free. The free end is dipped into water and then laid on the desired part of the pot and pressed into the soft clay with the fingers of the right hand. This process is repeated until all the designs are imprinted on the surface. The pot is then left to dry in the shade for 2 or 3 days.

When the vessel is dry the basic color is applied over the entire outer and often the inner surface. The coloring material is derived from hematite (iron oxide). Two pieces of hematite are rubbed together and the resulting reddish powder is mixed with water and applied to the surface with the fingers.

The vessel is now ready for firing. A small fire is made and the vessel is placed upon the burning wood. Additional fuel is piled around the vessel so that the fire will reach all parts. Firing takes anywhere from 15 minutes to 1 hour, depending upon the size of the vessel. When sufficiently fired the vessel is removed with a stick and is left to cool on ashes spread on the ground. The color of fired vessels is reddish-brown or reddish-yellow, brick color being the most general.

While the vessel is still hot, the principal designs are painted black with a piece of rosin obtained from the "palo santo" tree. When dry the rosin leaves a glossy jet-black surface. When the vessel is cold, the depressions left by the cord are painted white with a mixture of white clay and water applied with a piece of cloth or with a soft stick of wood. After the pot is completely dry it is wiped off with a cloth to remove pieces of white clay or other dirt clinging to the surface. The vessel is now ready for use.

The quality of the vessels varies considerably with the skill of the women who make them. Judging from pieces of old sherds some of the older vessels were of much better texture than many that are made today. Nowadays pots are hurriedly made for sale to outsiders who want them for show pieces only. The texture of these hurriedly made pots is coarse and crumbly, the clay is coarse, there appears to be too much tempering material, and the firing is uneven. Perhaps the coarseness of texture is due to the fact that the clay is not first dried, pounded, and sifted. Recently made vessels also reveal a much rougher surface than some of the older vessels. Evidently less care is taken in giving the outer surface a smooth finish.

CERAMIC DECORATION

A complete analysis of Caduveo decorative designs will not be attempted here, for not all the designs were collected and all those on hand have not as yet been satisfactorily analyzed. Caduveo designs occur not only on pottery but on skin work and in the form of face paintings and are, as a whole, quite complicated. As has already been mentioned, the basic over-all color of vessels is brick with the designs painted on in black and white. More specifically, we might define the decorative pattern as black on brick with corded outlines in white. The white corded outlines are used both for blocking out the area to be decorated, usually in the form of parallel lines, and for defining the borders of the designs themselves. Sometimes the white lines are themselves the decoration, as on the pitcher shown in plate 15, *c*, *d*, where its mouth is decorated in this manner, and on the bowl shown in plate 17, *d*.

The outstanding elements in the decorative patterns are: Conventionalized foliage, curvilinear figures, volutes and scrolls, triangles, diamond-shaped and rectilinear figures, ovals joined by V-shaped lines, bands showing bird and fishlike figures and rectilinear frets.

Foliage designs may appear in quatrefoil, trefoil, or running curvilinear patterns. They may

be enclosed within white lines or they may stand out free of enclosed lines. A good specimen of quatrefoil design is seen on the pitcher (pl. 19, *a*). In this sample the body of the pitcher is decorated with small enclosed quatrefoils with larger, free quatrefoils alternating below. A simpler form of quatrefoil design is seen in plate 16, *a*, where double white lines enclose the foliage patterns, or again in plate 15, *c*, *d*, where the foliage pattern is enclosed between curved double lines. A simple trefoil design is shown on both sides of the spouts of the jug in plate 15, *a*, or, again, below the head on the birdlike jug in plate 16, *b*. A curvilinear leaf design is represented on the body of the jar in plate 16, *d*.

A good example of a simple curvilinear design is seen on the body of the jug (pl. 20, *b*). These curvilinear designs reach great complexity on skin work and as face and body paintings.

On the body of the bird-shaped jug (pl. 16, *c*) we have opposed volutes separated by a trefoil. This design appears again in an abbreviated form on the collar of the jar in plate 18, *b*. Scroll designs appear at their best on flat surfaces, as, for instance, on skin work (pl. 21, *b*) or on the arms and chests of people.

Triangular figures occur in many forms. Simple opposed triangles in black area are seen on the neck of the jar in plate 18, *a*. Triangles enclosing four-sided figures are represented on the neck of the jar in plate 18, *b*. Opposing triangles enclosing lesser triangles are sometimes stepped as in plate 21, *b*, and on the neck of the jar in plate 16, *d*.

Diamond-shaped and rectangular figures occur as simple designs or as borders enclosing more complicated patterns. On the first quarter of the skin in plate 21, *a*, we see triple-lined diamonds enclosing quatrefoils, the inner corners of the diamonds being set off by semicircles. The neck of the jug in plate 20, *a*, is enclosed by a diamond, the corners of which are set off by triangles.

Ovals either joined by V-shaped lines (pl. 20, *c*) or enclosed in rectangular spaces (pl. 17, *c*) occur particularly on pottery vessels.

Designs showing bird and fishlike figures in black are common on the shoulders of jugs (pl. 19, *b*).

Different types of frets are shown on the right half of the skin in plate 21, *b*, on the cup in plate 17, *a*, and on the outside of the bowl in plate 17, *e*.

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PLATE 1.—**Views of Baranal Village (Terena).** *a*, Post buildings and main street. *b*, A Terena gaucho.

PLATE 2.—**Terena churches.** *a*, Protestant church. *b*, Catholic church.

PLATE 3.—**Terena schools.** *a*, Government school. *b*, Protestant mission school.

PLATE 4.—**Terena house types.** *a*, House with stake walls. *b*, House and cooking shed.

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PLATE 6.—**Terena physical types.** *a*, Man. *b*, Woman and child.

PLATE 7.—**Terena physical types.** *a*, Girl. *b*, Old woman. *c*, Young boy. *d*, Man and boy.

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PLATE 11.—**Terena sports.** *a*, Football game. *b*, A crowd gathered for a horse race.

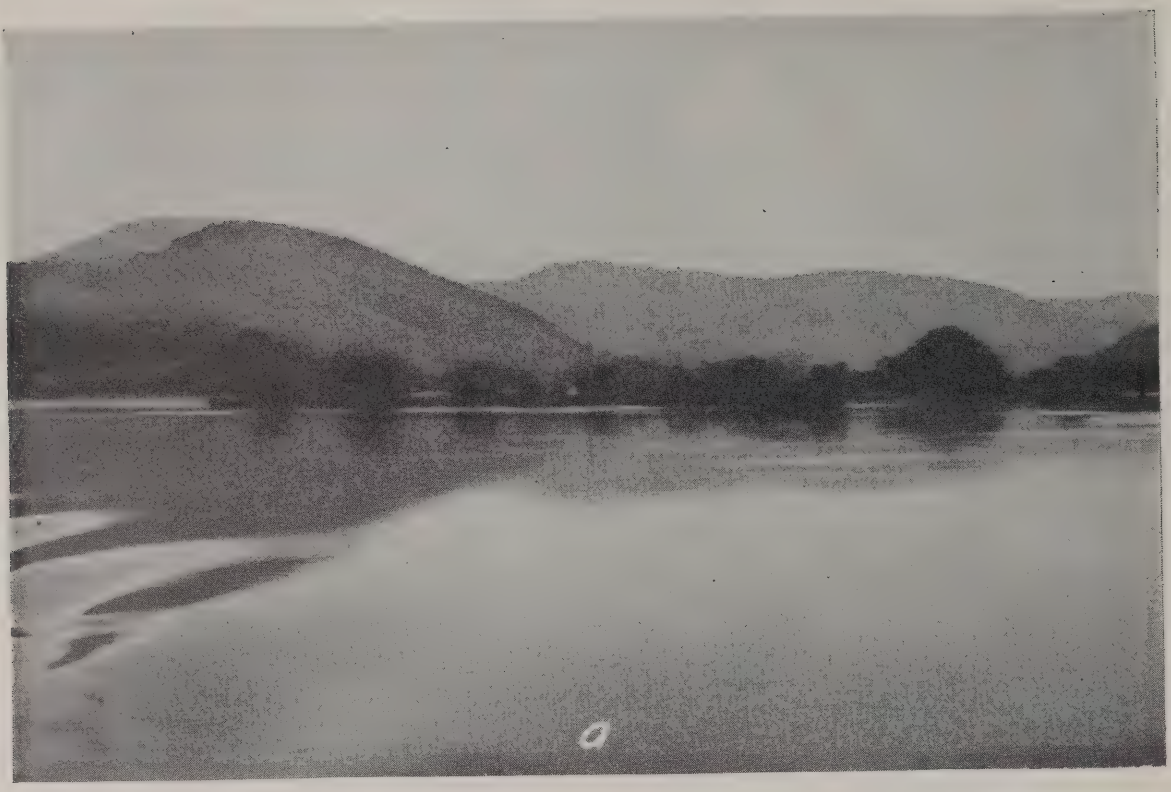

PLATE 12.—**Caduveo territory. Scenes on Paraguay River.** *a*, A bend in the Paraguay River. *b*, Marshlands along the Paraguay River.

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PLATE 15.—**Caduveo jugs and pitchers.**

PLATE 16.—**Caduveo bird-shaped jugs and jar.**

PLATE 17.—**Caduveo cups and bowls.**

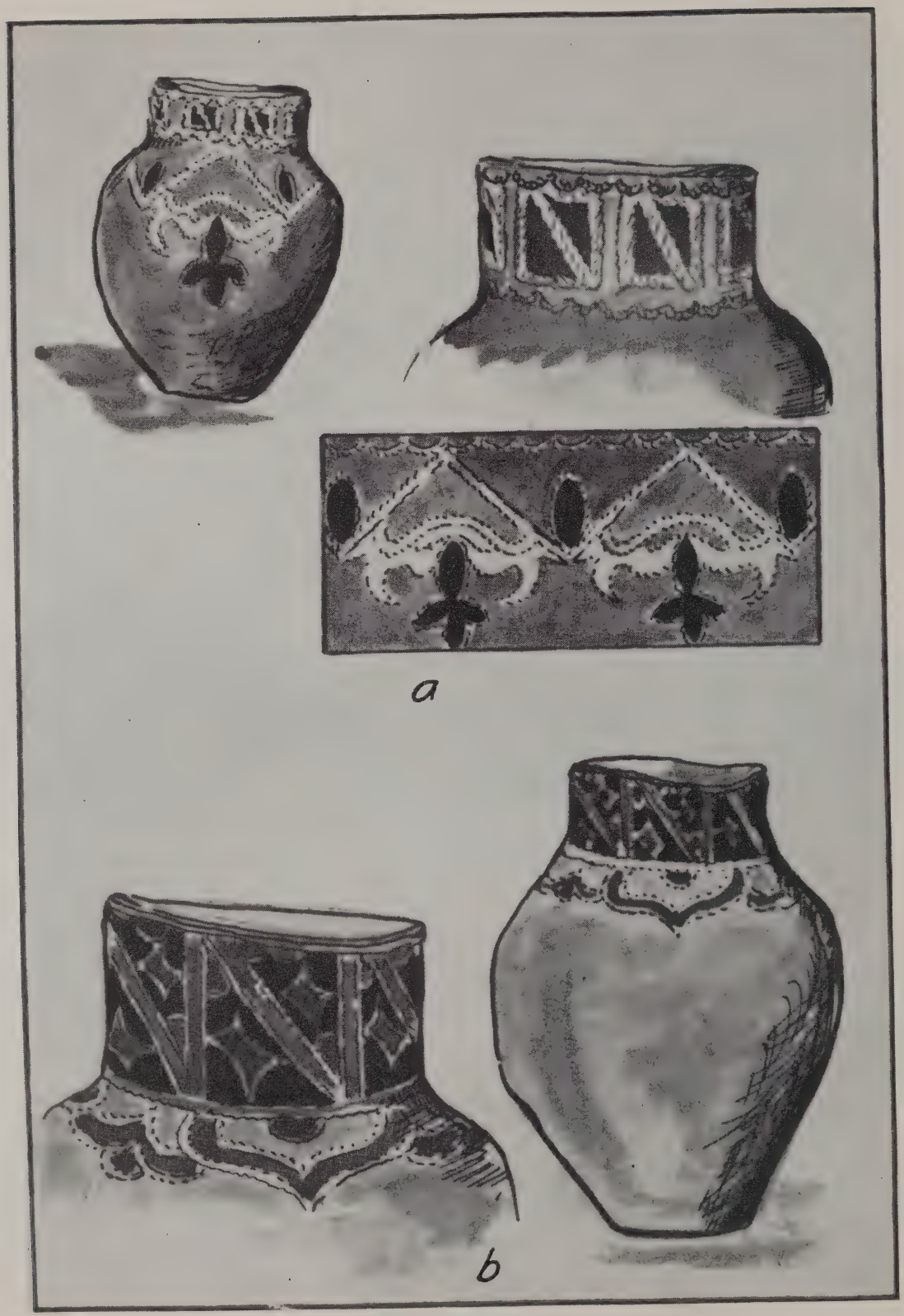

PLATE 18.—**Caduveo jars.**

PLATE 19.—**Caduveo pitcher and jug.**

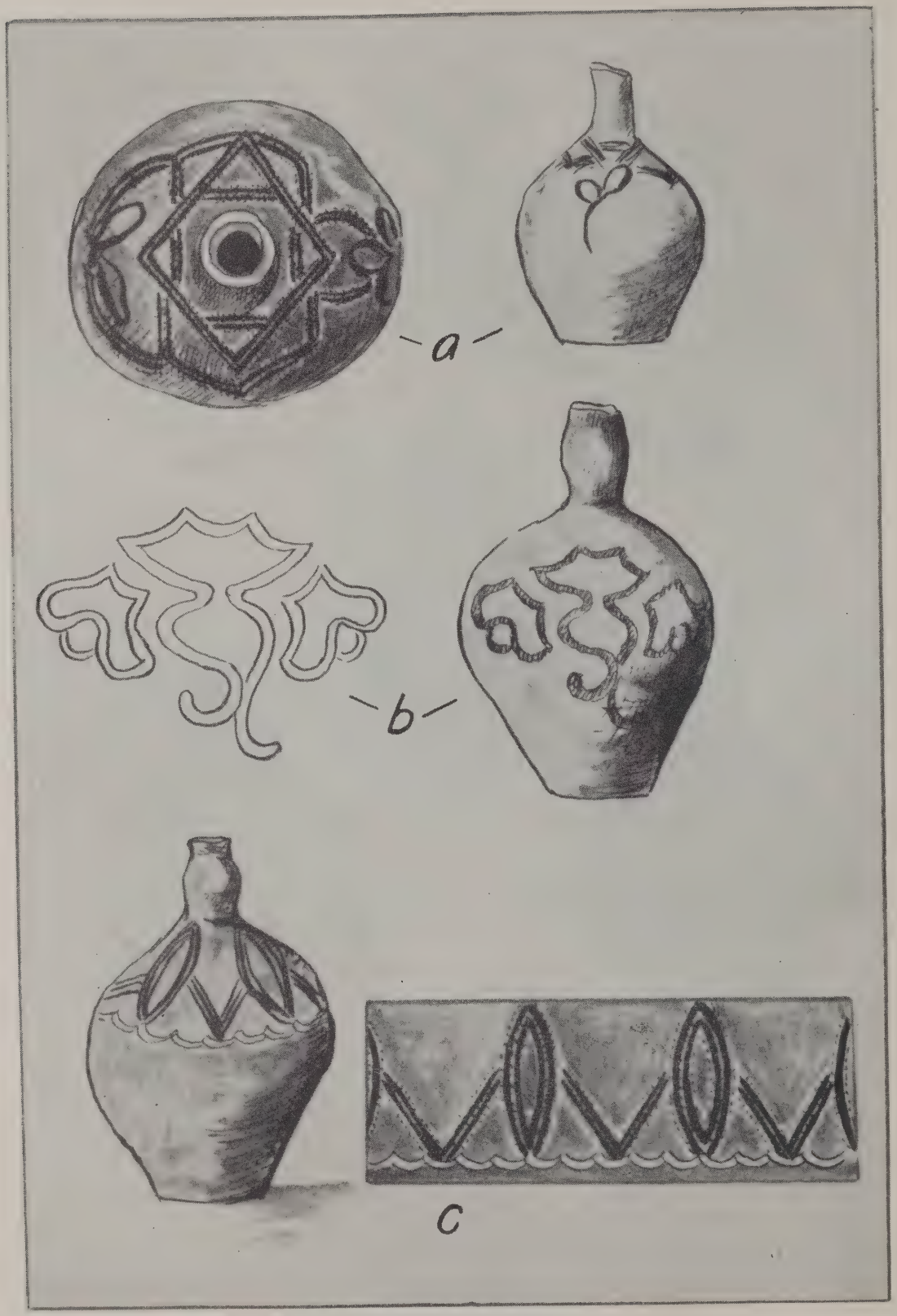

PLATE 20.—**Caduveo jugs.**

PLATE 21.—**Caduveo decorated calfskins.**

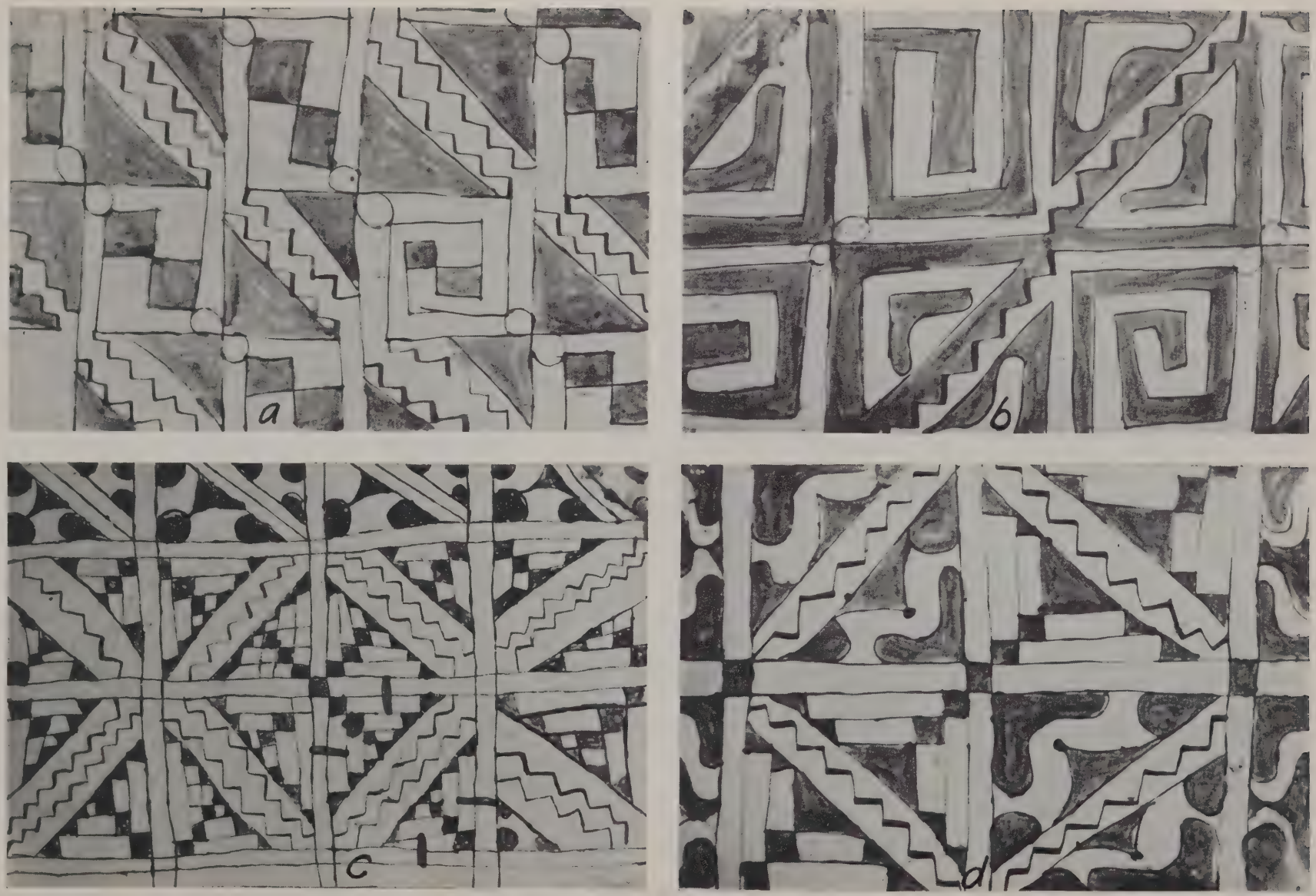

PLATE 22.—**Caduveo designs.**

PLATE 23.—**Caduveo designs.**

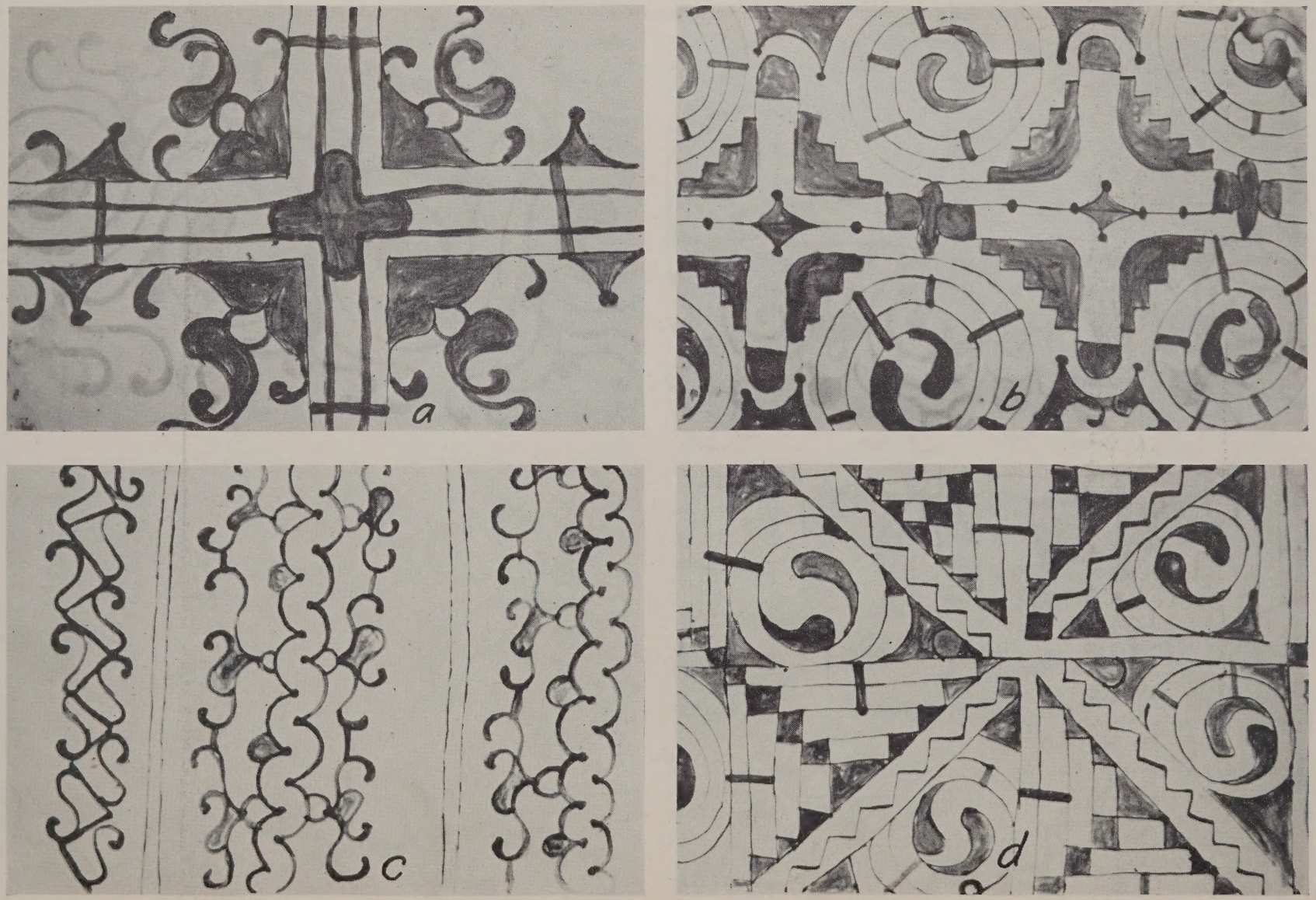

PLATE 24.—**Caduveo designs.**

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